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THE NEW CONSPIRACY.

WHAT IS MEANT BY THE RESTORATION OF THE CONFEDERATE DEMOCRACY TO POWER—THE VITAL ISSUES OF 1876 CONSIDERED.

The surrender at Appomattox closed the war and yielded the dominion of the Confederacy to the undisputed authority of the National Government; but in the transfer of the conflict from the field to the forum the nation was confronted with consequences of the struggle as grave and momentous as the war itself. Eleven States were found in social and political chaos and all form of civil government therein destroyed. The highest considerations of statesmanship and sound policy dictated that they should be speedily reconstructed and restored to their constitutional relations in the Union; but how was this to be accomplished? Four millions of emancipated slaves and five millions of disloyal citizens may be said to have comprised the entire population out of which the proposed governments were to be formed. In the nature of things the conduct of the late Confederate in this new and wholly changed relation of citizenship became a subject of anxious inquiry. He had surrendered the sword of rebellion at home and the arts of diplomacy abroad, and sworn to renew his allegiance; but could he be trusted to found free and loyal governments on the basis of a complete and veritable freedom for all, and to aid in securing within those States the results of the nation's victory?

FALSE TEACHINGS.

Unfortunately there was little in his antecedents to inspire confidence. The education that made secession and rebellion easy

had imbued his mind with the most pernicious heresies. The disciple of Calhoun, or the devotee of Davis, Slidell, and Yancey, he was indoctrinated with a measure of political poison which the fire of battle intensified and consecrated rather than destroyed. These teachings constituted his very best conception of the nature of the Government and his rights and duties as a citizen. The impracticability of maintaining them by rebellion was settled, but the deep-seated convictions which prompted that effort remained unchanged.

Yet, notwithstanding these embarrassments which attended the experiment of reconstruction and made wise and prudent men falter in the adoption of a policy, the sworn enemy, who had just surrendered his treason with a broken heart and had given no evidence that he could be trusted as a worthy citizen, was promptly restored to all the rights and privileges he had forfeited, and the States he was destined to control were readmitted to the Union with largely increased political power.

THE VITAL ISSUE.

But there were national considerations quite as vital as those peculiarly local to the South. In 1861 the Representatives in Congress from the slave States numbered 74 against 159 from the States then free, while under the present apportionment they have 106 to 185 from the North. Thus, a solid Southern vote, which the Democracy have

determined to secure in the election next November at all hazards, with only 40 Representatives from the North, will give the South undisputed control of that body, while it will require only 10 votes from the North to also give it control of the Senate. According to this basis it will be seen furthermore that with the addition of only 47 electoral votes to the 138 belonging to the South that section will be enabled to elect a President and Vice President and enter upon absolute control of the Government. It was this alarming possibility, which now presents itself in a practical and threatening form, that made men doubt the wisdom of any system of Southern restoration which might ever enable the rebel citizen to gain the ascendancy and take possession of the Republic. A brief experience of ten years has demonstrated that the fears and misgivings of those times were indeed well founded. Not content with the usurpation of authority in half the States of the South by means that trample under foot every essential principle of reconstruction and hold the laws of God and man in utter defiance, they propose now, by the same nefarious system, to usurp the authority of the nation.

This being the manifest spirit of the combined master element of the South, which to-day is better organized and more thoroughly united and determined than at any time since it surrendered on the field, it is pertinent to inquire with what temper it approaches the National Capital.

SLAVERY VERSUS FREEDOM.

It is well known that two distinct sets of ideas have long divided the North and the South. The North has ever been jealous of her institutions of freedom and protected all her citizens alike in their enjoyment. Freedom of speech, freedom of political thought and action under the widest latitude, and a patriotic, paramount loyalty to the nation have been held as cardinal tenets among her people. The South has ever been exclusive, intolerant, illiberal, domineering, and sectional. Her inheritance of freedom was subordinated to the more "sacred" inheritance of slavery, by which every principle of Government, every right and duty of the citizen, and every sentiment of loyalty and

patriotism was determined. The National Government was regarded only as an instrument to be manipulated for the protection and extension of the "divine" institution, and when at last an indignant and outraged people protested against this high abuse, the Government was declared a failure and its dissolution demanded.

BOURBONISM ALIVE AND DEFIANT.

But we are told that the sad lessons of the war and the correcting influences of time, accompanied by a wholly changed condition of affairs, have worked a corresponding improvement in the sentiments and aspirations of the Southern Democracy, and that they may now be as fully trusted with all the interests of the Government as the loyal men of the North who have ever been its friends. Would that an impartial inquiry, seeking only to find the truth, might sustain this assumption; but a familiar acquaintance, based upon personal experience and observation, with the temper of the old slaveholding element of the South and its expectations staked upon Democratic ascendancy, shows that no more dangerous and fatal delusions could be entertained.

'Tis true, slavery and secession, the primal causes of Southern alienation, are dead and buried, but it is equally true that their authors and advocates, and terrible consequences, still survive. The Hills, Gorlons, and Lamars who led the Confederates into rebellion with enthusiastic ardor continue to be their chosen leaders, and are supported with all the zeal and devotion of former days. The loss of thousands of their bravest sons and millions of treasure, with ruined homes and universal impoverishment and sorrow inflicted upon them, has not taken a scintilla of their confidence from the authors of their misfortunes; and why? Simply for the reason that they still believe the "Lost Cause" to have been just and righteous, and hold it in affectionate remembrance as the palladium of their lost liberties.*

*The South is to-day ruled over by the miserable thrall of Yankeedom; but they cannot muzzle our chivalry and patriotic devotion to the "Lost Cause." We have fought for our rights, but in God's dispensation we are vanquished, but not cowed. Slavery was a divine institution, and we must have that institution or the South will ever be bankrupt. They speak of our cause as the "Lost Cause." If so

The politician who seeks their favor and has exhausted every other expedient without success, can appeal to this fond sentiment with unerring assurance. It is the sentiment of the hustings, the church and the school, and unites society in its tender ties as the only remaining emblem of common sufferings in a common cause. Every idea of human liberty, every principle by which they would govern the State and the Nation, every sense of justice toward their fellow men, every conception of their duty as citizens, and every hope they have for themselves or for the nation, is limited by the traditions, teachings, and prejudices of the Past; and to dissent from these and adopt the more enlightened and progressive views

shall it be lost forever? No! a new generation has sprung up, and at a not far distant day there will be "stars and bars" floating proudly over our Sunny South. In the next political campaign we must, even if in the minority, support a Southern man who will build up our interests and hurl the Yankee pickpockets from our midst. We are to-day united to the Puritanical host by an artificial tie; but we are a distinct people, and God and the right will enable us to show to the world the truth and the equity of our claims. Our statesmen now in Congress are the cream of that body, and are the only element that reflects credit on the United States. Is it not better to hang on to the "Lost Cause" than to stay in a government of corruption?—[Extract from an address delivered by Rev. J. Taylor Martin at Charlotte, N. C., May 5, 1876. Confederate memorial day.]

We bow not in the spirit of cravens; and while we bend to the "higher-law" authority, that pollutes our Republic as transmitted to us by our fathers, respect for ourselves, our posterity, and the good opinion of mankind forbid our enrolling ourselves as the *whining* slaves, or silent slaves, of the conquering power. *We have surrendered none of our convictions, and still claim the right of VINDICATION!* In looking back at our past actions and motives, and the wrongs we have suffered and are still suffering, we confess that we have no regrets for the choice we made between the "higher-law" license of majorities in the Union and the sacred security of self-government in the States—between the Federal and Confederate Governments. We are not conscious of a solitary dereliction of duty either as citizens or soldiers, and feel that truth, reason, and religion exculpate us from wrong-doing. We know we were right, and though crushed to earth we should ever remember, and teach our children to remember, our CAUSE WAS JUST! We are still proud of the cause and *glory* in the fight we made. Posterity will yet decide that, though we lost all but honor, to save honor it was better to have fought and lost than not to have fought at all."—[Extract from an address by ex-Governor Benjamin G. Humphries, of Mississippi, before reunion of the 13th Mississippi Confederate infantry, at Meridian, November 22, 1875. Governor Humphries was a Confederate major general, and was elected Governor of Mississippi in 1865 and served until 1868, when he was again nominated for that office. He is probably the most popular Democrat in the State.]

of the North meets with a visitation of calumny, denunciation, and proscription that the most courageous men will shrink from encountering.

A WAR OF INVASION AND VANDALISM.

Kindred to this feeling, and to add to its intensity, is a deep sense of the imagined injuries inflicted by the North. The war is looked upon as a savage vandalism, which despoiled their property, murdered their sons, and suppressed their dearest rights wholly without cause—a crusade of oppression and robbery that perpetrated the most atrocious wrongs upon an unoffending, innocent, and blameless people; and this belief in the great wrongs of the North, and their own unmerited suffering, is as strong to-day as it was ten years ago, and stubbornly refuses to be reconciled except upon its own terms.

HOW THE SITUATION IS ACCEPTED.

If the modifying influence of time has perceptibly improved this well known temper it is difficult to discover the character or extent of the change. In every instance where new conditions have been prescribed they have been accepted only in empty form and no further than the force of necessity required, and the best is regarded only as an unmixed evil and is pointed to as evidence of continued Northern innovation and oppression.

The thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution were accepted only in this spirit, and are endured under a standing protest and menace which holds them in utter disregard and contempt. As was said by the *Mobile Register*, (Democratic,) in its issue of the 14th of June last, "those amendments to the Constitution stand a reproach to the honor and discretion of the country."*

* We have to contend with the blunder of the XVth Amendment while it stands as best we can. Ridiculous appeals to the reason and judgment of the negro have been the cause of incalculable injury in the inflation of his vanity, and making him believe he was of real consequence as a governing element in the body politic. Now that the negro in this State is down, and his personal self-conceit well knocked out of him, it is, probably, a fit time for the white people to impress upon him that the white people will, in future, control the polities of this State, and that he should keep himself in his proper sphere, and leave to the intelligent white man the exclusive use of Statecraft for the best interest of both races. Impress him continually with the

But beneath this superficial recognition of right principles the cherished sentiments of a lifetime of hostility to free institutions and national supremacy, and the grievances of war, lie undiminished, and are but awaiting the opportunity to assert themselves without compromise in the administration of the Government. With this unconquerable spirit defiant as ever in the Southern Democracy, it is not difficult to foreshadow their inexorable policy. Maddened by defeat, desperate of impoverishment, relentless in hostility, barren in principle, beggared in honesty, faithless in promise, and ravenous for the spoils of office, their accession to power would signal an era of national prostitution, spoliation, and revenge unexampled in the history of free governments. Traitors would succeed patriots in public places; the policy of the Confederacy supplant the policy of the nation; and retaliation upon the North for its imagined wrongs, and payment of the South for its losses, become the controlling objects of their policy. This species of plunder would be justified as a measure of peace, reconciliation, and justice, and the reorganization of the Government under the Confederate theory be demanded to restore to the South the constitutional rights and liberties wrenched from her by a relentless enemy!

Thus the victory of the nation in war would be turned into a triumph of treason in peace, and traitors be enabled to accomplish within the Union what they failed to without, and reward themselves from the national treasury for the losses entailed by their defeat.

And let it not be said that this picture of the impending crisis is overdrawn. The present Confederate House has given us a foretaste of a policy even more alarming and ruinous than has here been depicted, and at a time, too, when but one branch of Congress is in control of the Democracy, and it is impossible that their wicked schemes can be immediately realized. What, then, may not be expected when the South gets control of the Government, and intrenches itself in power as it did before the war?

idea of his unfitness for the ballot, and his proper place on election day away from the polls.—*Meridian (Miss.) Mercury*, November 20, 1865.

A FEW IMPORTANT FACTS.

Some idea of the magnitude of the proposed raid on the Treasury may be formed by examining a few of the proposed "measures of relief" introduced in the House. The first in order is a bill presented by Mr. Scales, of North Carolina, (H. R. 3145,) entitled a "bill to refund certain direct taxes on land collected from citizens in the late insurrectionary States under the act of August 5, 1861."

The law of 1861 levied a direct tax of \$20,000,000, and apportioned the same among the several States, according to population, for payment. All of the States but those in insurrection assumed their quotas and paid them, excepting a small balance still due. The amount apportioned to the South was as follows:

States.	Quota.	Uncollected.
Virginia	\$937,550	\$260,396
North Carolina	576,194	173,144
South Carolina	363,570	140,869
Georgia	584,367	502,167
Florida	77,522	71,027
Alabama	529,313	529,313
Mississippi	413,084	343,137
Louisiana	385,886	75,022
Texas	355,016	197,055
Arkansas	261,886	102,983
Tennessee	669,498	66,654

Total \$5,153,886 \$2,661,776

When the war closed the collection of this tax South was begun, and continued until July, 1866, when Congress passed an act suspending further collection until January 1, 1869. No effort has been made to collect any portion of this tax since 1866, but, not satisfied with this generous and magnanimous forbearance on the part of the Government, it is now proposed by Mr. Scales to refund to the tax-payers the \$2,492,100 collected, alleging as reasons that said taxes "were taken from a people greatly impoverished by the war, and wholly unable to pay the same, and that the burdens of taxation may be made equal, and that all the people alike in said States may be equally relieved by the act of suspension." It seems not to have occurred to these selfish economists that there remains still another "inequality of burdens" imposed by the crisis that demanded this assessment that is not relieved by the bill in question. Not only did the

loyal people of the North pay the bulk of the twenty millions assessment, but mortgaged their property and their sacred honor for two thousand six hundred millions more, and gave the priceless lives of half a million of their bravest sons to save the Union from destruction by those who are now asking for this relief. Who will repay their taxes and repair their losses? By what system of equity and justice are they to be indemnified?

THE COTTON-TAX JOB.

Akin to this measure is the scheme to refund the tax collected on raw cotton in the Gulf States during the years 1865-'66-'67, when the law under which it was levied was repealed. The aggregate amount of this tax, as appears by the books in the Treasury Department, is \$68,072,088.

For several years past a determined combination has been at work to secure the refunding of this tax. At first steps were taken to test its constitutionality in the Supreme Court of the United States, but in the decision of the case the court stood equally divided in opinion, which in effect affirmed the law. Then a raid was organized to push the scheme through Congress, and zealous Southern Representatives have vied with one another to secure this appeasing act of plunder for the gratification of their anxious constituents.

HOW IT WOULD WORK.

Ostensibly the bill (H. R. 232) proposes to "refund the tax to the parties who actually produced the cotton," but in fact it is a gigantic job of lobbyists and speculators who have managed to get nearly all of the original claims into their own hands by agreeing to pay a trifling per cent. on their face value if the bill should become a law. The immense sum to be refunded and the cheapness of the purchased claims, with the encouragement offered in Congress, make this the most popular scheme for the lobby ring now pending, and its final passage may be accepted as certain if the South gets possession of Congress.

The present plan proposes to issue bonds of the United States in sums of one hundred, five hundred, and one thousand dollars, payable at the Treasury of the United States to

bearer at the end of thirty years from date, in gold, bearing interest at the rate of five per centum per annum, payable semi-annually in gold. The annual interest on this sum would be \$3,403,619, and in thirty years would aggregate \$102,108,570, thus swelling the claim, principal and accumulated interest, to the enormous amount of \$170,180,958.

This is demand No. 2, to relieve an impoverished people, equalize the burdens of taxation, and make loyalty durable!

SOUTHERN CLAIMS.

But there is another class of demands compared with which the foregoing might be regarded as real luxuries. These comprise the rebel losses during the war.

Under an act of Congress, approved March 3, 1871, the "Southern Claims Commission" was created and empowered to "receive, examine, and consider the justice and validity of such claims as should be brought to them of those citizens who remained loyal adherents to the cause and the Government of the United States in States proclaimed as in insurrection against the United States during the rebellion."

It will be observed that this law confines claims exclusively to "loyal adherents," &c., signifying that the Government holds itself responsible to no others for losses sustained by the war. The Southern Claims Commission has adhered strictly to this principle, as will be seen by a few of the eighty standing interrogatories propounded to all claimants:

"Did you ever do anything or say anything against the Union cause; and if so what did you do or say, and why?

"Were you at all times during the war willing and ready to do whatever you could in aid of the Union cause?

"Which side did you take when the insurgent States were seceding from the Union in 1860 and 1861?

"Did you adhere to the Union cause after the States had passed into rebellion or did you go with your State?

"What were your feelings concerning the battle of Bull Run or Manassas, the capture of New Orleans, the fall of Vicksburg, and the final surrender of the Confederate forces?"

The law allowed two years in which to file claims of this character, and the reports of the Commissioners show that 22,298 have been presented for allowance. Of this num-

ber 9,222 have been examined, and about half thereof reported favorably to Congress, to be paid, leaving still 13,076 claims unadjusted. The gross value of all claims filed is \$60,258,150.

As has been shown "loyalty" is a test of the validity of claims under this general act, yet it has repeatedly occurred before the Commission that the most violent secessionists and rebels have endeavored by wholesale deception and perjury to prove themselves loyal and to recover on claims that were fraudulent upon their face. False swearing doubtless has carried a few such claims successfully through, but most of them have been rejected as unworthy.

But what becomes of the

TENS OF THOUSANDS

of other rebel claimants who have not dared to venture before an "iron-clad" commission, but who regard themselves as equally entitled with loyal men to compensation for private property taken or destroyed by the Union armies. Before what "commission" are they to obtain redress? This question they promptly answer for themselves and the country by electing a tribunal where disloyalty commands a premium rather than works a disability. A peep into the files of the House shows how thoroughly ready they are to improve their opportunity. There, among the various bills under consideration, are scores providing for the special relief of this class of claimants; and it is significant that not half a dozen even suggest "loyalty" as an excuse for their payment. The character of these claims may be judged by examining the following briefs made from the face of the bills as introduced, and showing the name of the introducer, the amount and the purpose of the appropriation:

By Mr. Caldwell, Tenn. A bill to pay the Christian Church, Union City, Tenn., \$1,800 for the appropriation of the church for Government purposes.

By Mr. Haralson, Ala. A bill to pay the Medical College of Alabama \$50,000 for loss sustained by military occupancy.

By Mr. Clark, Mo. A bill to pay the University of Missouri \$17,475 for damages done by soldiers of the Union army.

By Mr. House, Tenn. A bill to pay Cooper's Chapel, Tennessee, \$1,441.66 for use and occupation of said building by military forces of the United States.

By Mr. Wilson, W. Va. A bill to pay the Methodist Episcopal Church South at Clarksburg, West Virginia, \$2,100 for the use and occupancy of said church by Union soldiers.

By Mr. Faulkner, W. Va. A bill to pay the M. E. Church at Harper's Ferry \$3,000 for the occupancy and destruction by United States troops.

By Mr. Young, Tenn. A bill to pay La Grange Synodical College, Tennessee, \$34,300 for rent and destruction of building by United States troops.

By Mr. House, Tenn. A bill to pay Shelby Medical College at Nashville \$20,604.90 for rent and for property taken from said building during the war.

By Mr. House, Tenn. A bill to pay St. Cecilia Academy at Nashville \$4,250 for supplies taken therefrom by the Union army.

By Mr. Faulkner, W. Va. A bill to pay the Methodist Episcopal Church at New Creek, W. Va., \$1,000 for converting said house of worship into a bakery for Federal soldiers.

By Mr. Tucker, Va. A bill to pay Washington and Lee University (formerly Washington University) \$17,484 for injury done to said university in June, 1864.

By Mr. Faulkner, W. Va. A bill to pay the Methodist Episcopal Church at Mill Creek \$1,040 for the use and abuse of said church by Federal soldiers.

By Mr. Riddle, Tenn. A bill to pay Cumberland University, Tennessee, \$10,000 for property appropriated by Union soldiers.

By Mr. Faulkner, W. Va. A bill to pay the Baptist Church of Charlestown, W. Va., \$1,400 for the conversion of said church to the use of the army.

By Mr. Gunter, Ark. A bill to pay the Christian Church at Fayetteville, Arkansas, \$2,464 for property taken from said church and used during the war.

By Mr. Durham, Ky. A bill to pay Madison Female Academy \$10,325 for damage done said institution by Union troops.

By Mr. Bright, Tenn. A bill to pay the Presbyterian Church of Murfreesborough, Tennessee, \$10,000, said church having been used as a hospital for sick and wounded Union soldiers.

By Mr. Hunton, Va. A bill to pay Fairfax county \$1,595 for timber cut from the poor-house tract of land by Federal soldiers.

By Mr. House, Tenn. A bill to pay Andrew J. Duncan, of Nashville, \$39,229, on account of property taken and used by United States military forces.

By Mr. House, Tenn. A bill to pay D. W. Glassie and others \$9,000 for occupation, consumption, and destruction of their property by the armies of the United States.

By Mr. House, Tenn. A bill to pay Mrs. Sarah A. Turner \$12,400 for damage done

to property at her home in Rutherford county, Tennessee.

By Mr. House, Tenn. A bill to pay Elihu S. Marshall \$5,000 for property taken from him by the United States army.

By Mr. House, Tenn. A bill to pay Martha A. Stevens, Tennessee, \$2,478 for claims against the Government.

By Mr. House, Tenn. A bill to pay Duncan Marr \$8,024 for wood and brick taken from him at Clarksville, Tennessee.

By Mr. Bright, Tenn. A bill to pay Wm. Park \$1,304.05 for property taken from him at Nashville, Tennessee.

By Mr. Bright, Tenn. A bill to pay Thos. Hoard \$58,995 for supplies taken and used by the army of the United States from the farm of said Hoard, (the battle-ground of Stone's River,) near Murfreesborough, Tennessee.

By Mr. Atkins, Tenn. A bill to refund to the citizens of McNairy county, Tennessee, certain sums of money, aggregating \$20,000, (estimated,) the same having been a forced loan under a special order by Col. J. W. Harvey, 48th Illinois volunteer troops, issued December 14, 1862.

By Mr. Wells, Miss. A bill to pay Mrs. Priscilla Burwell, of Vicksburg, \$6,250 for rent of property by the United States army.

By Mr. Whitthorne, Tenn. A bill to pay Walter Akin, Maury county, Tennessee, \$4,700.50.

By Mr. Whitthorne, Tenn. A bill to pay A. J. Reed \$9,603.75 for forty-five bales of cotton taken from him by Gen. Mitchell and Gen. Draper, of the United States army.

By Mr. Davis, N. C. A bill to pay Amelia Ann Whitaker \$1,950 for stores taken and used by the United States army.

By Mr. Faulkner, W. Va. A bill to pay the county of Randolph, Virginia, \$1,200 for damages done the court-house, jail, clerk's office, roads and bridges during the occupancy by Federal troops.

By G. Wiley Wells, Miss. A bill to pay A. Burwell, Vicksburg, \$3,000 for wood and lumber taken from his farm near Vicksburg.

By Mr. Young, Tenn. A bill to pay Rosetta Freed \$3,100.70 for destruction of property by United States military forces.

By Mr. Caldwell, Tenn. A bill to pay F. L. Sidebottom \$3,958 for property appropriated by the United States army.

By Mr. Ely, Ala. A bill to pay William Stewart \$2,500 for rent and damage of furniture by certain officers of the army at Mobile.

By Mr. Willshire, Ark. A bill to pay John Jackson, \$3,665.80 for property taken from him by the United States army while operating in the State of Arkansas.

By Mr. Faulkner, W. Va. A bill to pay Carey Thompson \$2,000 "for property taken

during the late civil war by the United States army."

By Mr. Terry, Va. A bill to pay Philip A. Wellford \$3,150 for private property taken possession of by officers of the United States at Richmond, April 18, 1865.

By Mr. Willis, N. Y. (Democrat.) A bill to pay Mrs. Sarah A. Gayle, Amita county, Miss., \$15,700 "for certain cotton and salt belonging to her and taken by the United States Government."

By Mr. Willis, N. Y. (Democrat.) A bill to pay Horace D. Mead, of Yazoo county, Miss., \$24,267 for certain cotton taken from him by United States authorities.

By Mr. Willis, N. Y. (Democrat.) A bill to pay James M. Watson, of Rankin county, Miss., \$9,100 for certain cotton taking from him by the United States Government.

By Mr. Young, Tenn. A bill to pay John Morrison, of Memphis, \$4,600 for rent and damage of property by United States military authorities.

By Mr. Young, Tenn. A bill to pay Elizabeth Burke, of Memphis, \$2,000 for loss of property by the United States military forces.

By Mr. Young, Tenn. A bill to pay R. Dudley Frayser \$25,400 for rent of his cotton shed and store house in Memphis and for buildings destroyed by United States military authorities.

By Mr. Atkins, Tenn. A bill to pay James A. Heard, of Memphis, \$10,000 for 59 bales of cotton taken by the authorities of the United States from his farm in Clarke county, Miss.

By Mr. Gause, Ark. A bill to pay the treasurer of Prairie county, Ark., \$30,000 for use and destruction of the court-house and jail by the Federal army during the late war.

By Mr. Morgan, Mo. A bill to pay Mary J. Josling and Lavinia Scott \$15,000 for their mill, woolen factory, and dwelling destroyed by Union soldiers under military orders.

By Mr. Young, Tenn. A bill to pay Mrs. Sallie Garrett, of Tennessee, \$1,730.

By Mr. Young, Tenn. A bill to pay Samuel Mosby, of Tennessee, \$26,951.74.

By Mr. Young, Tenn. A bill to pay John Allen, of Tennessee, \$3,179.20.

By Mr. Harris, Va. A bill to pay Mrs. Cellie Stockton, of Virginia, \$1,950 for stores and supplies taken for the use of the United States army.

By Mr. Terry, Va. A bill to pay George C. Wedderburn and J. S. Newberry \$1,400 for rent of farm and destruction of property by United States military forces.

By same. A bill to pay C. C. Campbell \$6,000 for property taken by United States army under General Stoneman.

By Mr. Morey, La. A bill to pay certain parties named \$60,366 for expenses in dredg-

ing the Southwest Pass of the Mississippi river in 1859.

By Mr. House, Tenn. A bill to pay the financial agent of Davidson county, Tennessee, the sum of \$36,416.45 in full settlement of claim of said county on account of the occupancy by United States troops of the county court-house.

By Mr. House, Tenn. A bill to pay Mr. H. Howard, Tennessee, \$970 on account of property burned by United States army.

By Mr. House, Tenn. A bill to pay Randall Brown, of Nashville, \$1,600 for property taken by rebel forces.

By Mr. Young, Tenn. A bill to pay John T. Stratton, of Memphis, \$5,236.67 for use of a cotton shed by United States army.

By Mr. Young, Tenn. A bill to pay Joseph Tagg, of Memphis, \$3,500 for buildings destroyed by United States military authorities.

By Mr. Young, Tenn. A bill to pay Ann E. Connell \$16,816.31 for buildings and material used and destroyed by United States military authorities at Memphis.

By Mr. Gunter, Ark. A bill to pay Joseph C. Schaller, of Little Rock, \$3,264 for cattle and sheep taken by Union soldiers.

By Mr. Goodin. A bill to pay Nicholas White \$9,000 for the use and occupancy of his property at Newport News, Virginia, by United States army.

By Mr. O'Neill. A bill to pay James Millinger \$19,893.75 for the use and destruction of his property at Nashville, Tenn.

By Mr. Hunton, Va. A bill to pay Ann S. McKenzie \$1,500 for property taken by Federal soldiers and destroyed in Fairfax county, Virginia.

By Mr. Darrell, La. A bill to pay Mrs. E. W. F. Chevis \$15,895 for property taken from her plantation by the army under command of General N. P. Banks.

By Mr. Darrell, La. A bill to pay John B. Bronssard \$850 for oxen, horses, and mules furnished the United States army.

By Mr. Darrell. A bill to pay Lessien Bronssard \$4,600.25 for horses, cows, corn, and wood furnished the United States army.

By Mr. Ellis, La. A bill to pay Amalie H. Smith \$4,602 for fuel, cattle, and hogs taken from her by the army of the United States in 1862 and 1863.

By Mr. Caldwell. A bill to pay A. E. Lunsford, of Lauderdale county, Tennessee, \$5,400 for 18 bales cotton taken by United States troops.

By Mr. Hancock, Texas. A bill to pay Santiago de Leon \$2,988 for mules, horses, wagons, and harness taken for the use of the United States Government, at Brownsville, Texas.

By Mr. McFarland, Tenn. A bill to pay

James and Wm. White for 96 bales of cotton taken in 1864, (estimated value \$45,000.)

By Mr. Thornburg, Tenn. A bill to pay Hardin Scaggs \$235 for supplies furnished the Federal troops.

By Mr. Young, Tenn. A bill to pay Peter Targurana \$103,740 in payment for two steamboats taken by officers of the United States Government after the close of the war.

By Mr. Young, Tenn. A bill to pay Lucia Jameson, of Memphis, \$7,650 for rent of storehouse occupied by United States authorities during the war.

By Mr. Darrell, La. A bill to pay Neville Bronssard \$600 for beef, cattle, and horses furnished the Union army under General Franklin.

By Mr. Darrell, La. A bill to pay P. J. Francis \$9,682.70 for horses, cattle, hogs, and farming implements taken from his estate by troops under General Banks.

By Mr. Darrell, La. A bill to pay Mrs. Raymond Riu \$3,000 for cattle and horses taken from her and used by the United States army under General Banks.

By Mr. Darrell, La. A bill to pay J. P. Lewis \$1,000 for horses furnished the army under General Banks.

By Mr. J. B. Clark, Mo. A bill to pay William Morrison, of Lexington, Mo., \$30,000 for foundry stock, supplies, fixtures, and so forth, burned and destroyed by order of General Lewis Merrill December 22, 1861.

By Mr. Young, La. A bill to pay Reuben S. Jones, of Memphis, \$18,492.50. (No purpose stated.)

By Mr. Young, A bill to pay Emmarrilla J. Carr, of Memphis, \$1,804 for rent of her dwelling occupied by United States authorities in said city.

By Mr. Young, Tenn. A bill to pay W. B. Hamlin, of Memphis, \$36,200, in full payment for property destroyed in Lee county, Arkansas, by Federal troops.

By Mr. Young, Tenn. A bill to pay Martha M. Parker, of Memphis, \$2,762.50 for rent and damages to property by United States authorities.

By Mr. Rea, Mo. A bill to pay Lawson Moore, of Mo., \$2,241.50 for property taken, used, and destroyed by United States troops near Independence, Mo., in 1864.

By Mr. Clark, Mo. A bill to pay Thomas B. Wallace, Lexington, Mo., for destruction of dwelling-house and out-buildings by order of Colonel James A. Mulligan, then in command of United States forces. (No amount given.)

By Mr. Hancock, Texas. A bill to pay David C. Burnett, of Texas, \$2,500 for timber taken by United States troops stationed at Fort Lincoln in the fall and winter of 1849.

By Mr. Caldwell, Tenn. A bill to pay W.

W. Waggoner \$12,410 for certain quartermaster stores taken from him by United States troops at Will's Point, Tenn.

By Mr. Clymer, Penn. A bill to pay Andrew M. Sallade, of Atlanta, Ga., \$17,705.40 for hardware and other goods furnished the United States army.

By Mr. Douglas, Va. A bill to reimburse Essex county, Virginia, for loss of its jail destroyed by fire while occupied by United States troops; and appropriates \$3,020 for that purpose.

By Mr. Hunton, Va. A bill to pay Louisa Summers \$10,588.75, for property belonging to her taken and used by the United States army near Anandale, Fairfax county, Virginia, during the late war.

By Mr. Milliken, Ky. A bill to pay John M. Elder, of Kentucky, \$14,862.50, for 53 bales cotton destroyed by the United States army in the late rebellion, in Talbot county, Georgia.

By Mr. Young, Tenn. A bill to pay Charlotte M. Gailer, of Memphis, \$400, for damage done her property by Union troops during the war.

By Mr. Hyman, N. C. A bill to pay \$7,000 to reimburse Jones county, North Carolina, for destruction of court-house by United States forces in 1863, "the said court-house not being then, or at any other time, used by the authorities of the (so-called) Confederate States for any purposes of the war."

By Mr. Young, Tenn. A bill to pay Mary Maguire, of Shelby county, Tennessee, \$1,500 "for property appropriated and destroyed by the United States army during the late war."

By Mr. Warren. A bill to pay Mrs. Amelia A. H. Richards, of Fairfax county, Virginia, \$6,335 "for stores and supplies, taken for the use of the army of the United States during the late war."

By Mr. Ellis, La. A bill to pay Philip Rhor, of Virginia, \$1,600 for tobacco seized by the Federal army in 1864.

By Mr. Candler, Ga. A bill to pay John A. Richardson, of Fayette county, Georgia, \$10,000 for property taken and destroyed at Atlanta, Georgia, by United States troops.

By Mr. House, Tenn. A bill to pay William Park \$1,304.05 for property taken and used by the army at Nashville, Tennessee.

By Mr. Bright, Tenn. A bill to pay Ann P. James \$12,000 for the occupation and use of her property by the army under General Rosecrans.

By Mr. Bright, Tenn. A bill to pay John E. Baurran, of the Rock City Mills, Nashville, Tennessee, \$16,302.16 for the use and occupation of his mills by the United States authorities.

By Mr. Bright, Tenn. A bill to pay

Robertson Popps and William L. Vance for one hundred bales of cotton, (estimated value \$50,000,) seized by the United States army, on the Yazoo river, in 1864.

By Mr. Sinnickson, N. J. A bill to pay James R. Thompson, of Virginia, \$3,295 for supplies furnished the United States troops during the late war between the States.

By Mr. Dibrell, Tenn. A bill to pay J. M. Bragg and others in Tennessee \$6,650 for supplies taken by the Federal armies.

By Mr. Dibrell, Tenn. A bill to pay Joseph J. Cummings \$1,210, "the value of his tannery buildings burned by soldiers of the United States army, by order of General Elliott, near Sparta, Tennessee."

By Mr. House, Tenn. A bill to pay Andrew Morrison \$4,645 on account of property used by the United States.

By Mr. House, Tenn. A bill to pay James H. Charlton, Davidson county, Tennessee, \$9,412 on account of property taken from him and used by the army of the United States.

By Mr. House, Tenn. A bill to pay Georgetta E. Wilkinson, of Nashville, \$5,000 "on account of property used in the construction of the defenses of Nashville."

By Mr. Wells, Miss. A bill to pay A. Burwell \$75,000 for property destroyed at Vicksburg.

By Mr. Wells, Miss. A bill to pay A. Burwell \$35,150 for 140 hogsheads and 14 boxes of sugar taken and appropriated by the United States authorities.

By Mr. Scales, N. C. A bill to pay \$17,000 to Davidson county, North Carolina, on account of the destruction by fire of the court-house while occupied by United States troops.

By Mr. Singleton, Miss. A bill to pay Joseph R. Shannon, Louisiana, \$17,000 for the use of the steamer Shannon while employed in the military service of the United States.

By Mr. Hunton, Va. A bill to pay Aquilla Lockwood, of Virginia, \$1,100 for the use and occupancy of his property for military purposes.

By Mr. Hunton, Va. A bill to pay Septimus Brown, of Virginia, for damage to his real estate, in the erection of forts, etc. (No amount stated.)

By Mr. Goode, Va. A bill to pay \$65,000 to William and Mary College, of Virginia, "for destruction of their buildings and other property destroyed without authority by disorderly soldiers of the United States."

By Mr. Dibrell, Tenn. A bill to pay John Eastwood, of Gallatin, Tennessee, \$351.50 for moneys taken from him by the United States forces.

By Mr. Dibrell, Tenn. A bill to pay B. F. Martin, Charleston, Tennessee, \$550 for

the use and occupation of his warehouse, stables, etc., by United States troops.

By Mr. Young, Tenn. A bill to pay Edgar McDavitt \$2,180 for rent of his cotton shed and storehouse in Memphis, Tennessee.

By Mr. Young, Tenn. A bill to pay Samuel H. Duncourt, Memphis, \$5,236.67 for rent of his cotton shed and storehouse by military authorities.

By Mr. Young, Tenn. A bill to pay E. T. Keel, Memphis, \$832 for rent of his storehouse in Memphis.

By Mr. Blount, Ga. A bill to pay Antoine Poullain \$2,032.38 for the use of his dwelling and other property in Augusta, Ga.

By Mr. Cabell, Va. A bill to pay A. Bostwick, Halifax, Virginia, \$750 for commissary and other stores impressed and taken from him by the officers of Gen. Wright's corps.

By Mr. Boone, Ky. A bill to pay R. C. Smith, of Kentucky, \$3,322.86 for property destroyed by Federal gunboats and soldiers.

By Mr. Hunton, Va. A bill to pay R. L. Rotchford, of Fairfax, Virginia, \$1,372.49 for the sale of his property under the confiscation act.

By Mr. House, Tenn. A bill to pay John H. Galbraith, Davidson county, Tennessee, \$1,600 for property taken and destroyed by United States forces during the war.

By Mr. Caldwell, Tenn. A bill to pay James A. Bowling, of Haywood county, Tennessee, \$3,000 for property taken and used by the army during the late war.

By Mr. Blount, Ga. A bill to pay Harriet B. Fulton, of Bibb county, Georgia, the sum of \$24,750 for horses, mules, cattle, etc., taken by United States troops.

By Mr. Cabell, Va. A bill to pay Thomas B. Doe, of Danville, Virginia, \$6,200.34 for commissary and other supplies taken by the soldiers of the Sixth United States Army Corps.

By Mr. Ellis, Va. A bill to pay W. H. Tegarden, of Mississippi, \$12,334 for damage done to his property by United States troops.

By Mr. Riddle, Tenn. A bill to pay Hiram Lyles \$1,000 for a fine stable horse taken by Gen. Gillem on his march through East Tennessee.

By Mr. Riddle, Tenn. A bill to pay John O. Cage, of Tennessee, \$— for property taken by United States troops during the war.

By Mr. Warren, Mass. A bill to pay Jos. Anderson, Tennessee, \$5,000 for lumber used by the United States troops in building pontoons, etc.

By Mr. Knott, Ky. A bill to pay Jacob Kaufman \$11,350 for goods and stores taken from him by the rebel General Morgan.

By Mr. Blackburn, Ky. A bill to pay O. Perry \$59,677 for wood and lumber taken

and used by the military authorities of the United States.

By Mr. Stowell, Va. A bill to pay P. O. Lipscomb, of Virginia, \$400 for corn furnished the Sixth Army Corps.

By Mr. Walker, Va. A bill to pay Susanah Cook, of Virginia, the sum of \$2,000 for property taken and destroyed by troops of the United States.

By Mr. Young, Tenn. A bill to pay John Pittman, of Memphis, \$6,300. (No consideration given.)

By Mr. Brown, Texas. A bill to pay Sylvanus Sanford, of Cass county, Texas, with interest since 1862, the sum of \$16,709.15 for seven hogsheads of granulated sugar taken by United States military authority.

By Mr. Young, Tenn. A bill to pay James S. Leath, Tennessee, \$2,000. (No consideration mentioned.)

By Mr. Morgan, Mo. A bill to pay Mary J. Josling and Lavinia Scott \$15,000, in full compensation for their mill, woolen factory, and store occupied and destroyed by Union soldiers.

The aggregate of these one hundred and forty claims is \$1,582,269, and they average \$11,201 in value. Such is the character of some of the House bills examined. In the Senate no inquiry has been made extending beyond two bills which are somewhat striking in their provisions. The first, introduced by Mr. Merrimon, of North Carolina, proposes to "repeal so much of section 3480 of the Revised Statutes as forbids the payment of the accounts, claims, and demands therein named, and to appropriate \$400,000 to pay the same when duly established." The accounts, claims, and demands referred to are any against the United States which accrued or existed prior to April 13, 1861, in favor of any person who "promoted, encouraged, or in any manner sustained the late rebellion."

It is well known that the amount of claims barred by this act far exceeds \$400,000, although there are no definite figures available fixing the exact sum, and that the claimants voluntarily forfeited their rights and inflicted the loss upon themselves by joining the rebellion.

The other proposition referred to comes from Mr. Johnston, of Virginia. He claims to have found two hundred and six "loyal" citizens in Loudoun county, Virginia, whose property was destroyed in conformity with an order by Major General Sheridan, November 27, 1864, and asks an appropriation of

\$199,228 for that purpose. The order referred to says:

"This section has been the hot-bed of lawless bands who have from time to time depredated in small parties on the line of army communication, on safeguards left at houses, and on troops. Their real object is plunder and highway robbery. To clear the country of these parties that are bringing destruction on the innocent as well as their guilty supporters by their cowardly acts, you will consume and destroy all forage and subsistence, burn all barns and mills and their contents, and drive off all stock. This order must be literally executed, bearing in mind, however, that no dwellings are to be burned, and that no personal violence be offered the citizens. The ultimate result of the guerilla system of warfare is the total destruction of all private rights in the country occupied by such parties. This destruction may as well commence at once and the responsibility of it must rest upon the authorities at Richmond, who have acknowledged the legitimacy of guerilla bands."

These two bills added to the above amount swell the appropriations to be made on special account alone to \$2,181,497.

A BIG BONANZA.

But this skirmishing about the Treasury, whereby only a few thousands or millions are carried off at a time, is found to be too slow and aggravating to satisfy the demand, and while it feeds a few in the front leaves the great army of claimants starving in the rear. It is but the scent of blood to the hungry lion, and something must be done to appease his devouring appetite. In this desperate emergency the intrepid Confederate Riddle, of the 4th district of Tennessee, shows himself equal to the demand and leads the clamoring army in the charge. The plan he proposes is not peacemeal or cowardly in any sense, but a bold, comprehensive scheme, the very daring and magnitude of which challenges admiration. It means plunder by the wholesale under the cover of legalizing statutes.

The bill in question (H. R. 2364) is entitled "a bill directing compensation to be made for the use and occupation of all property by the United States during the late war," and specifically sets forth its objects in the first section, as follows:

"Be it enacted, &c., That the Secretary of War be, and he is hereby, authorized to allow compensation to all citizens of the United

States for the use and occupation of their property by the United States army, or any part thereof, during the late civil war in the same manner and under the same regulations as compensation is now allowed for quartermasters' stores used by said army: *Provided, however,* That the affidavit of the claimant, supported by the competent testimony of any reputable citizen, shall be sufficient proof to establish the fact of use and occupation of such property by said army. But it is not the intention of this act to limit the parties to the amount of proof herein specified, but other additional testimony may be taken to establish the fact of the use and occupation and the rental value of the property occupied."

During four long years the immense army of the Union was marched and encamped exclusively on Southern territory, and the property it occupied in that time may be said to be co-extensive with the area of the Confederate States. From Washington, Cincinnati, and Cairo, south to the Gulf of Mexico, scarcely a landlord or planter could be found who had not at some time during the war been quartered on by the Union troops and sustained damages, which, when aggregated, would be simply fabulous.

THE HIGH CARNIVAL COMPLETED.

But bold, aggressive, and ruinous as is this scheme of plunder, it still remains for the concluding bill to open full wide the Southern flood-gates and complete the carnival of jobbery and robbery in the Treasury of the Nation. The bill presented by Mr. Riddle covers the "use and occupation" of rebel property by the Government. This bill (H. R. 553) proposes to "adjust and settle the claims of citizens of the United States for stores and supplies *taken or furnished during the rebellion* for the use of the army of the United States and for other purposes."

It will be noticed that nothing is said about *loyal* citizens as being the only proper claimants, but all citizens, whether they were *loyal* or *disloyal*, are to appear on a common footing and be paid without distinction. Nor is there any limit fixed to the "stores and supplies taken or furnished" short of the entire amount, whatever that may be. It means in effect that the Government shall pay for every head of cattle; every bushel of corn or other grain; every pound of meat, flour, meal, and commissary stores and quar-

termaster's supplies of every kind whatever, foraged, used, or destroyed by our soldiers during the war!

THE GRAND TOTAL.

And what would be the grand aggregate of claims accruing under these wholesale raids upon the Treasury? A reasonable estimate may probably be reached by taking the 22,298 sworn loyal claimants as a basis. The total amount claimed by this class, as appears in the preceding pages, is \$60,258,150, making the average value of each claim \$2,702 40. It will not be regarded as extravagant to say that the number of disloyal claimants South stand as forty to one loyal, and using the same average value of \$2,702 40 per claim, as above, the total to be appropriated on account of these two bills alone would swell to the sum of \$2,410,326,000.

RECAPITULATION.

Direct tax	\$2,661,776
Special relief bills	2,181,497
Cotton tax	68,072,088
Use and destruction of property	1,205,163,000
Supplies used or destroyed	1,205,163,000
 Total	2,483,241,361

In round numbers, *an amount equal to the national debt at the close of the war.*

THE WRECK OF GOVERNMENT.

When the national resources and credit have thus been exhausted, and bankruptcy and dishonor have followed these multiplied bounties to traitors, then, and not until then, will the nation have paid the debt of Southern restoration and contentment demanded by that section and contemplated as certain under Democratic ascendancy. Are loyal men prepared to give up the warfare and surrender to the enemy after having sacrificed so much of life and treasure upon the field to avert these evils, or will they again rise in their might and forever destroy this new conspiracy while yet it is within their power? Require the terms of Confederate surrender to be strictly kept, without compensation for past treason or reward for future loyalty, and demand that life, liberty, and perfect political freedom be protected throughout the South at any cost, to the end that the faith and integrity of the nation may be maintained unimpaired, its honor untarnished, its loyalty unreproached and unreproachable, and the enjoyment of peace and prosperity, assured by a loyal, enlightened, and economical government, be secured throughout our fair land as the best inheritance of the people and the highest attributes of the Republic.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY—HAS IT BEEN FAITHFUL TO ITS TRUST?

The Republican party, as a political organization, dates its history from 1856. It came into power March 4, 1861, and from that time to the present it has been responsible for the administration of national affairs.

Has it been faithful to its trust? This question has been passed upon by the people three times since 1861. First, in 1864, in Mr. Lincoln's re-election; second, in 1868, at the election of General Grant; third, in 1872, when the people returned the present incumbent by the largest popular majority ever given to a President. Thus it would appear that up to 1872, at least, the people had an abiding faith in Republicanism, and by their votes proclaimed to the world that the party had been faithful to its trust. Has

it done anything since the last popular endorsement to forfeit the confidence and goodwill of the American people? It has not, for the record shows that its services have been as faithfully performed since 1872 as they were before. If it has made mistakes it has been quick to correct them, and in this it has shown a desire to conform to the wishes of a nation that has intrusted it with power for the past fifteen years. This prompt reflection of the popular will has been a leading trait in the character of Republicanism. All its public measures have been based upon public wants, and to discover these wants and to administer to them have been the chief aim and object of the party.

As we are on the eve of a political cam-

paign whose issues are to shape the future policy of the nation it is well to briefly review the past history of the Republican party, and to again ask the question, "Has it been faithful to its trust?"

A nation without credit at home and abroad, its treasury nearly bankrupt, its currency insecure, its navy scattered, its army small and demoralized, its authority repudiated and defied in eleven States, its Southern forts and arsenals in the hands of insurgents, a powerful political party, which had been instrumental in bringing about this disastrous state of affairs, holding sufficient influence to prevent unity of action, is a fair picture of the condition of the trust when Republicans came into power.

Democracy had abandoned all hopes of saving the Union—had announced its willingness to see its bonds severed—had proclaimed its determination to make no efforts to stay the tide that was sweeping the nation to certain destruction, when the loyal people called the Republican party into power, and gave into its hands a trust which Democracy was about to betray.

Therefore, to the Republican party, to its wisdom and fidelity, its patriotism and courage, the people owe the existence of the Union. If it had no other claim on the gratitude of the nation than this one of preserving its nationality it should outweigh all the claims of Democracy, and entitle it to the confidence and support of every loyal American citizen.

But it has other claims. It has not only organized the means for saving the nation, in the face of the greatest rebellion of modern times, but it has, by the operation of wise laws and a liberal policy, developed a growth of material prosperity rarely equaled in the history of nations.

To fully comprehend the advancement made during a single decade of Republican ascendancy let us briefly compare the condition of the country in 1860 with its condition in 1870, as shown by the ninth census. It should be remembered that this growth was in the face of a terrible civil war and the results which followed its close. In view of this fact the people may well be proud of the Republican party and challenge the world for a party record equally honorable.

INCREASE IN PRODUCTS OF MANUFACTURES.

The substantial growth in the products of manufactures from 1860 to 1870 illustrates the industrial prosperity of the nation. It is safe to assume that the increase of products of manufactures to June 30, 1876, would be upward of \$3,000,000,000. The following table shows the increase from 1860 to 1870:

States.	Products of manufac-tures.		Increase.
	1860.	1870.	
Eastern....	\$468,599,287	\$1,009,116,772	\$540,517,485
Middle....	796,926,290	1,783,813,923	986,887,633
Western....	346,675,290	1,072,363,358	726,288,068
Southern....	183,462,521	253,618,436	60,155,915
Pacific....	71,229,989	89,342,482	18,112,493
Total.....	1,876,893,377	4,208,824,971	2,331,931,594

GROWTH IN TRUE WEALTH.

The increase of the true wealth of the nation for the same time will better illustrate the character of the Government which in a large measure has been instrumental in bringing it about. This increase shows the wonderful growth of the nation under a single decade of Republican rule, and disposes of the charge so often made by Democracy that Republicanism has impoverished the country. No better evidence can be found of the fallacy of this assumption than that contained in the impartial returns of the ninth census.

From this we tabulate the following:

States.	True wealth.		Increase.
	1860.	1870.	
Eastern....	\$1,863,848,765	\$4,039,875,247	\$2,176,026,482
Middle....	4,150,920,784	12,181,738,740	8,030,817,956
Western....	3,966,735,753	9,539,453,603	5,569,717,850
South'rn....	5,868,209,219	3,343,007,589	* 2,525,201,630
Pacific....	236,805,250	721,459,961	484,654,711
Territo's....	73,096,297	245,983,367	172,887,070
Total....	16,159,616,068	39,068,518,507	13,908,902,439

*Decrease. Value of slaves included in 1860.

It will be seen from the above that the true wealth of every section, with the exception of the Southern, has increased in a marvelous degree, the total increase being nearly \$14,000,000,000. The loss of slave property, the value of which was included in the census of 1860, partially accounts for the apparent decrease of the true wealth of the Southern

States. To this should be added the general depreciation of real estate which has taken place in every Southern State, with the exception of Kentucky and Tennessee.

ASSESSED VALUATION OF REAL ESTATE.

The following table shows the decrease in the assessed valuation of real estate in the Southern States from 1860 to 1870:

Southern States.	Assessed valuation of real estate.		Decrease in real estate.
	1860.	1870.	
Virginia*	\$417,952,228	\$279,116,017	\$138,836,211
N. Carolina	116,369,573	83,322,012	33,044,561
S. Carolina	129,772,084	119,494,675	10,278,009
Georgia	179,801,441	143,948,216	35,853,225
Florida	21,722,810	20,197,691	1,525,119
Alabama	155,034,089	117,223,043	37,811,046
Miss.	157,836,77	118,278,460	39,558,277
Louisiana	280,704,988	191,343,376	89,361,612
Kentucky	277,925,054	311,479,694	33,554,640
Tenn.	213,991,180	223,035,375	14,044,195
Arkansas	63,254,740	63,102,304	152,436
Texas	112,476,013	97,186,568	15,289,445
Total	2,132,838,537	1,767,727,431	365,111,106

*West Virginia not included in 1870. +Increase.

The great falling off in the assessed valuation of real estate in the Southern States, as indicated in the table given, is due not so much to the destruction which attended the war as it is to the bitter political prejudices held since its close by the property-owners of the South against Northern capitalists, especially those who favor the Republican party. These prejudices have been so marked that Northern men, with money to invest, have sought other and safer channels for their investments. Had the South laid aside its political hatred to the Republican party and extended a cordial welcome to Northern men, skill, industry, and wealth would have poured into its States, and ere this restored to it the prosperity which it lost by the rebellion. Numerically Republicanism has been stronger in certain Southern States than Democracy, but the latter has controlled the property and moneyed interest, and thus checked the growth which would otherwise have followed the ascendancy of Republicanism. No political party, however pure, can of itself restore prosperity to a people who combine the money power against it. A cordial relation must exist between the party in power and the business elements with which

it has to deal before true prosperity can be attained, and if the South had long since recognized this truth to-day her real estate would have shown as large an increase in value as that of other sections.

In order to show the increase in the assessed valuation of real estate in those States where the Republican party has had the active sympathy of business men and property-owners we present the following table, collated from the last census:

States.	Assessed valuation of real estate.		Increase.
	1860.	1870.	
<i>Eastern.</i>			
Me.	\$86,717,716	\$134,580,157	\$47,862,441
N. H.	59,038,346	85,231,288	25,592,942
Vt.	65,630,973	80,983,100	15,353,127
Mass.	475,413,165	901,037,841	425,624,676
R. I.	83,778,204	132,876,581	49,098,377
Conn.	191,478,842	204,110,509	12,631,667
Total.	962,666,246	1,538,829,476	576,163,230
<i>Middle.</i>			
N. Y.	\$1,069,658,080	\$1,532,720,907	\$463,062,827
N. J.	151,161,942	448,832,127	297,670,185
Penn.	561,192,980	1,071,680,934	510,487,954
Del.	26,273,803	48,744,783	22,470,980
Md.	65,341,438	286,910,332	221,568,894
Total.	1,873,628,243	3,388,889,083	1,515,260,840
<i>Western.</i>			
Ohio.	\$687,518,121	\$707,846,823	\$20,328,715
Mich.	123,605,084	224,663,697	101,058,533
Ind.	291,820,992	460,120,974	168,290,982
Ill.	287,210,940	348,433,906	61,213,966
Wis.	148,228,765	252,322,107	104,083,241
Minn.	25,291,771	62,079,587	36,788,816
Iowa.	149,433,423	226,610,628	77,177,215
Mo.	153,450,577	418,527,535	265,076,958
Kansas	16,088,600	65,499,365	49,410,763
Neb.	5,732,145	8,363,999	32,633,854
Total.	1,888,408,421	2,804,470,614	916,062,193
<i>Pacific.</i>			
Cal.	\$65,906,631	\$176,527,160	\$109,620,529
Oregon.	6,279,602	17,674,292	11,394,660
Nevada*			
Total.	73,185,233	194,201,362	121,015,129
Gr. total	\$4,797,889,143	\$7,926,390,535	\$3,128,501,392

*Assessed valuation of real estate in 1870, \$14,594,722.

The table given indicates an aggregate increase in the assessed valuation of real estate in the Eastern, Middle, Western, and Pacific States, during the first decade of Republican

rule, of \$3,128,501,392, while the Southern States, during the same period, show a decrease in the assessed valuation of real estate amounting to \$365,111,106.

The question may be asked, Why has not the Republican party advanced the material interests of those States in the South where it has had control? The answer is, because it has met the organized opposition of the intelligent, wealthy, and business elements of those States. Its control has been the control of a majority cut off by deep-rooted prejudice from the sympathy and support of an influential minority. Thus, insurmountable obstacles have been placed in its way. Its efforts to build up have been met by counter efforts to tear down, and this conflict, carried on through a series of years, has borne its natural results, the paralyzation of industry and the stoppage of growth. At the North active party opposition against a State administration ceases when the ballot announces the people's choice. At the South the opposition of Democracy is intensified by the elevation of Republican officials. The choice of the people is disregarded, the minority refuse to cheerfully submit to the decree of the ballot-box, and thus the administration of government lacks that co-operation of effort on the part of all classes essential to a complete development of State interests.

We have already shown the material prosperity which the Union has developed. This far outweighs the money expenditures made necessary by four years of war. The compensation for the bloodshed cannot be found in dollars and cents. The elevation of the human race, the extinction of human bondage, the erection of free States throughout the world, and the future preservation of hundreds of thousands of lives which would be sacrificed in the defense of separate nationalities are among the legitimate fruits which will spring up from the graves of the Union defenders.

REVENUES AND EXPENDITURES.

As the Democratic party has arraigned the Republican party for an extraordinary increase of the national revenues and expenditures since 1860, and have carefully concealed the causes which led to the increase, a brief review of the items of expenditure

since 1860 to the present time may not be out of place:

NET REVENUE OF THE GOVERNMENT, INCLUDING PREMIUMS AND INTEREST RECEIVED.

From March 4, 1789, to June 30, 1860	\$1,806,354,650 53
From June 30, 1860, to June 30, 1875	4,725,187,816 22
Total	6,531,542,466 75

NET EXPENDITURES, INCLUDING PAYMENTS FOR PREMIUMS AND INTEREST.

From March 4, 1789, to June 30, 1860	\$1,731,734,673 72
From June 30, 1860, to June 30, 1875	6,740,521,315 68
Total	8,472,255,989 40

ITEMS OF EXPENDITURE.

From March 4, 1789, to June 30, 1860	
War	\$552,534,462 79
Navy	347,733,003 83
Indians	84,091,969 79
Pensions	79,713,465 20
Miscellaneous*	465,237,077 08
Premiums	5,834,626 94
Interest	196,590,068 69

Net expenditures..... 1,731,734,673 72

From June 30, 1860, to June 30, 1875.

War	\$5,375,284,220 35
Navy	585,124,614 01
Indians	76,042,153 59
Pensions	292,271,046 50
Miscellaneous	743,924,941 55
Premiums	59,738,167 73
Interest	1,408,136,171 73

Net expenditures..... 6,740,521,315 68

Net expenditures from March 4, 1789, to June 30, 1875..... 8,472,255,989 40

The tables submitted show at a glance the extraordinary expenditures directly due to the rebellion. The work required of the army and the magnitude of military operations can only be realized by a comparison of the expenditures. The army expenditures for the years 1862, 1863, 1864, and 1865 amounted to \$2,713,569,422 83, or nearly five times as much as the entire army expenses of the Government from 1789 to 1860, a period of seventy-one years. The army expenditures of a single year, 1865—the close of the war—were \$1,030,690,400 06, or within a fraction of \$3,000,000 for every day in the year.

The nation has been required to pay for the item of interest alone during the past fourteen years \$1,305,042,627 38, as against \$196,590,068 09, the amount paid from 1789 to 1860, or more than six and a half times as much as the entire amount of interest paid by the Government for seventy-one years.

*Includes civil service, foreign relations, light-house, and public buildings expenditures, and the cost of collecting the internal revenues.

The pension payments, also directly chargeable to the rebellion, show that \$262,814,830 28 have been paid out, or more than three times the entire pension payments of the Government for the seventy-one years prior to 1860. In view of these facts is it not rank demagogism to charge the increase of revenue and expenditures to the extravagance of the Republican party?

If the expenditures shown are without parallel in our history so the means employed, the honesty and energy displayed, the statesmanship which created the measures necessary to carry the Government through the most dangerous period of its existence, must be regarded as without parallel in the history of nations.

If a party is to be judged by the weight of its responsibilities then the Republican party in its administration of public affairs cannot fail to invoke the favorable judgment of impartial minds. The magnitude of its labors can only be measured by their priceless results, and these will grow in value as generation follows generation.

The wisdom and sagacity which developed the internal revenue system and our present currency system should entitle the Republican party to the gratitude of the country. The first made possible the immense revenues necessary to prosecute the war to a successful issue. The latter made the payment of the taxes uniform throughout the country; provided a safe currency of equal value in all the States; protected industry, by removing its earnings from the possibility of loss through State bank failures, and commanded the active support of the moneyed interests of the States by making the security of those interests dependent upon the integrity and credit of the nation.

The present system of internal revenue was created to meet the wants growing out of an emergency. Through its operation those wants were supplied promptly, regularly, and without shock or injury to the business of the country. So efficiently was the system organized, so equalized were the taxes levied under it, so cheerfully were they responded to by a loyal people, that the future historian, when he looks for the evidence of those burdens which oppress a people during the prosecution of a great

war, will fail to discover that the payment of these countless millions was regarded as oppressive, or checked for a moment the growth of a nation's prosperity.

To show the amount collected under the internal revenue system and by direct tax since 1861 to 1875, we submit the following:

Year.	Internal revenue.	Direct tax.
1862		\$1,793,331.73
1863	\$37,640,787.95	1,485,103.61
1864	109,741,134.10	475,648.96
1865	209,464,215.25	1,200,573.03
1866	309,226,813.42	1,974,754.12
1867	266,027,537.43	4,200,233.70
1868	191,087,589.41	1,788,145.85
1869	153,354,466.86	763,682.61
1870	184,899,756.49	229,102.88
1871	143,098,153.63	580,355.37
1872	130,642,177.72	
1873	113,729,314.14	
1874	102,409,784.90	
1875	110,007,493.58	
Total	2,066,331,218.88	14,810,189.37

*Balances due in 1871, collected in 1872 and 1873, and carried into the United States Treasury in the latter year.

Since July, 1866, internal revenue taxes have been gradually reduced, until the amount of taxes repealed now reaches an aggregate of two hundred million dollars per annum, a reduction of two-thirds of the internal revenue tax of 1866.

The other principal source of revenue to meet the expenditures of the Government was the customs revenue. From this source the following amounts were collected from 1861 to 1875, inclusive:

Year.	Customs revenue.
1861	\$20,582,125.61
1862	49,056,397.62
1863	69,059,642.40
1864	102,316,152.99
1865	84,928,260.60
1866	179,046,651.58
1867	176,417,810.88
1868	164,464,599.56
1869	180,048,426.63
1870	194,538,374.44
1871	206,270,408.05
1872	216,370,286.77
1873	188,089,522.70
1874	163,103,833.69
1875	157,167,722.35
Total	2,170,460,215.90

During the war period, from June 30, 1861, to June 30, 1865, the net expenditures of the Government far exceeded the net ordinary

revenue. The following table will show the ordinary receipts and expenditures for the five years named :

Year.	Receipts.	Expendit'res.
1861.....	\$41,476,299.49	\$62,616,055.78
1862.....	51,919,261.09	456,379,396.81
1863.....	112,094,945.51	694,004,575.56
1864.....	243,412,971.20	811,283,679.14
1865.....	322,031,158.19	1,217,704,199.28
Total	770,934,635.48	3,241,988,401.57

To the above receipts should be added \$33,561,924.24 received as premiums, and to the expenditures should be added \$176,034,714.75 paid for interest and \$1,717,900.11 paid as premiums, making the total net receipts for the five years named \$804,496,559.72, and the total net expenditures for the same time \$3,419,741,021.43, or more than four times the amount of the receipts. It will thus be seen that the expenditures exceeded the receipts during the five years of war, \$2,615,244,461.71.

To meet this excess the nation was forced to look outside of its ordinary revenues, and the amount needed was provided by its loans and Treasury notes. These loans make up the bulk of our present national debt. The following shows the yearly payment for interest from 1861 to 1875:

Year.	Interest.
1861.....	\$4,034,157.30
1862.....	13,190,344.84
1863.....	24,729,700.62
1864.....	53,685,421.69
1865.....	77,395,090.30
1866.....	133,067,624.91
1867.....	143,781,591.91
1868.....	140,424,045.71
1869.....	130,244,242.80
1870.....	129,235,498.00
1871.....	125,576,565.93
1872.....	117,357,839.72
1873.....	104,750,688.44
1874.....	107,119,815.21
1875.....	103,093,544.57
Total	1,408,136,171.95

RECEIPTS FROM ALL SOURCES FROM JUNE 30, 1861, TO JUNE 30, 1875, INCLUSIVE.

Customs	\$2,170,460,215.90
Internal revenue	2,061,331,218.88
Direct tax	14,810,189.37
Public lands.....	24,436,276.73
Miscellaneous.....	252,540,413.56
Premiums	196,570,028.05
Total	4,725,148,342.49

OFFICIAL INTEGRITY, REDUCTION OF DEBT, ETC.

Yet, with these immense receipts and expenditures, made necessary by the suppression of the Democratic slaveholders' rebellion, the records show a degree of official integrity without a parallel in the history of governments.

A very careful calculation of losses sustained was embodied in an official letter from the Secretary of the Treasury in 1872. As equal honesty has been practiced in all the departments since the date of this letter, it may be safely taken as a basis for present calculations. According to this letter, the per cent. of losses to the Government in the collection of internal revenue since March 3, 1869, was less than one-fiftieth of one per cent. of the amount collected, or less than two dollars in ten thousand.

In the collection of the customs for the same time the loss was \$28,000 out of \$553,000,000, or the one-hundredth part of one per cent., or less than five dollars in every one hundred thousand.

The loss to depositors, through our national banking system, was the one hundredth and eighty-sixth part of one per cent.—equivalent to five dollars and three-eighths in every one hundred thousand.

The money entries on the books of the United States Treasurer, covering time from June 30, 1861, to January 9, 1872, showed the immense sum of \$55,000,000,000, and out of this vast amount the loss was about \$55,000, or less than one ten-thousandth part of one per cent., or one dollar in one million of money transactions.

On the 28th June, 1876, Senator Anthony in calling the attention of the Senate to an official report on defalcations, said :

"The aggregate statement of the disbursements of the Treasury under the list is a paper exceedingly creditable to the American Government. I do not mean to any particular party, but to the financial history of the United States. There have been disbursed since 1834—I can hardly read such big figures—\$13,936,870,072.05, of which is marked upon these books \$22,266,000, being about half a million of dollars a year, and a great part of this is nominal, not real.

"The losses on the \$1,000 of disbursements were, in the administration of Jackson, \$10.55; Van Buren, \$21.15; Harrison, \$10.37; Polk, \$8.34; Taylor and Fillmore,

\$7.64; Pierce, \$5.86; Buchanan, nearly 6 98; Lincoln, \$1.41; Johnson, 48 cents; Grant, the first four years, 40 cents; the second four years, 26 cents—showing a constant decline, which is owing in a large degree to the improved manner of keeping the accounts; and that is due very largely to the Committees on Finance and Appropriations, who have introduced legislation here which has compelled much greater accuracy and responsibility. The average percentage of losses during this whole period on the disbursements is \$1.59 on the thousand. I do not believe that the aggregate of any class of corporate or private business, banking, commercial, or any other kind, can show so small a percentage of loss as this, and it is gratifying that the percentage of loss is continually decreasing, coming down from \$21.15 in the administration of Van Buren to an average of twenty-three cents on the thousand dollars, or only about one-sixtieth as much under the present Administration. This is exclusive of the Post Office, which administers its own revenue. In the Post Office the loss has gone down from \$1.18 on the \$1,000 in Jackson's administration, and \$26.19 in Van Buren's, to \$1.59 for the first term of Grant and \$1.01 for the second, with an average of \$3.51 for the whole period."

The excess of expenditures over receipts, or that which far exceeded the ordinary revenues, and which were met by pledges of public faith, ceased with the close of the war. The public debt had reached its highest point in 1866, being at that time, June 30, \$2,773,236,173.69. Since then the revenues of the nation have exceeded the expenditures, leaving a balance each year for the redemption of the public debt. From June 30, 1866, to June 30, 1875, the public debt has been reduced \$599,711,641.74. This reduction has taken place in the face of reduced taxation. Under the acts of Congress dated July 13, 1866, March 2, 1867, Feb. 3, 1868, March 1 and July 20, 1868, July 14, 1870, May 1 and June 6, 1872—the Internal Revenue taxation has been reduced from its highest point, in 1866, \$309,226,813.42, to \$110,007,493.58, June 30, 1875. In this reduction of the public debt, and this descending scale of taxation, we have at a single glance the policy of the administration to maintain the public credit, and at the same time lighten the burdens of the people.

We have endeavored to show, by the statements submitted, the magnitude of the financial operations of the Government during

fifteen years of Republican rule. They may safely be held up, as being without a parallel in our history, if not in the history of nations. To carry on these operations through a long series of years, without infringing upon the constitutional rights of a single citizen, or without oppressing the industrial interests of the country, has required the highest degree of administrative and legislative talent, and the highest order of executive integrity. It should be borne in mind that these heavy financial responsibilities were forced upon the country by treasonable Democracy, and that the part performed by the Republican party was simply the execution of an imperative duty which it owed to the Union, to freedom, to humanity, and to the world's civilization.

With these figures before us, with a clear remembrance of those terrible years of sacrifice and suffering, when the hopes of the nation centered in the courage and patriotism of the Republican party, with at least \$150,000,000 of yearly expenditures to remind us of a party that betrayed the nation, and with a burdensome public debt, which a loyal people are nobly bearing—who that loves his country, or wishes to see it continue in the path of peace and prosperity, can give his vote or influence to the support of a party that stands to-day as responsible for the rebellion, as it did when its recognized head, James Buchanan, folded his arms and gave it the sanction of his official encouragement, by the admission that he had no power to coerce.

OUR NATIONAL CURRENCY SYSTEM.

We have shown the immense financial operations of the Government during the fifteen years ending June 30, 1875. To those measures which led to the adoption of our present national currency the success of these operations is largely due. Under the old State banking system, financial embarrassments would have attended the collection of the taxes, irredeemable paper money would have become nearly worthless, gold needed for custom duties and for the payment of interest on our bonds would have become exorbitantly high, the credit of States and individuals would have been destroyed, and before the close of the war, even if success

had been possible, universal bankruptcy would have stared us in the face.

Therefore to the adoption of our present currency system the nation is largely indebted for the success of its financial operations. It gave to the country a currency of uniform value; it pledged the faith of the nation for the security of the circulating medium; it removed the possibility of loss on the part of the bill holder by making the Government the redemption agent; it united the moneyed interests of the country with the efforts of the Government to maintain its existence, by making the currency, and through this, prosperity, wholly dependent upon the credit and integrity of the nation.

Under the old State banking system every financial disturbance entailed heavy losses on holders of bills, while panics like those of 1837 and 1857 wrecked hundreds of banks and entailed hardships upon thousands of individuals holding their notes. Under the present national system, these losses, which generally fall upon the workingmen, are impossible. A bank may be badly managed; it may fail; yet its notes, being secured by a deposit of United States bonds, are as valuable as the notes of the best managed bank in the country. They continue to circulate, or if the holder desires it, they may be redeemed by the United States. Thus the circulating notes, under the present system, may be considered absolutely safe. Not a dollar has been lost by the holder on the bill of a broken national bank since the organization of the system. All that is now needed to make the national currency system as perfect as any ever devised by human wisdom is the redemption of its notes in coin or its equivalent. If hostile legislation does not interfere to change or cripple the present plans of Republican administration the resumption of specie payments will be soon brought about without shock or detriment to business interests.

As a comparison of the old system and the present one may be of value, we present the following statement, exhibiting by sections the bank circulation, the amount *per capita*, and the ratio of circulation to wealth and to capital in 1862 (State bank system) and in 1874:

States and Territories.	Bank circulation.*		Circulation per capita.		Ratio of circulation to wealth.		Ratio of circulation to bank capital.	
	1862.	1874.	1862.	1874.	1862.	1874.	1862.	1874.
Eastern States	\$65,516,155	\$109,765,018	\$20,90	\$31,45	Per et.	Per et.	Per et.	Per et.
Middle States	82,372,060	123,652,872	9.97	12.66	3.5	2.7	51.7	67.4
Southern States	71,698,408	35,889,704	6.17	2.81	2.0	1.0	53.1	64.2
Western States	13,684,564	77,171,850	2.49	6.86	1.1	0.7	66.3	79.5
Pacific States and Territories .....	.....	1,962,708	.....	2.00	.....	0.9	125.4	80.8
Total States and Territories..	228,471,210	348,791,152	7.59	9.04	1.5	1.1	58.9	69.9

*National bank notes, June 30, 1875, \$351,800,000; old demand and legal tender notes, \$375,841,657.50; fractional currency, \$42,129,424.19; total paper currency, \$769,840,119.69. Total circulation per capita, \$18.33.

It will be admitted that our currency is safe not only in times of business prosperity, but in the midst of financial panics. Founded upon the credit of the Government, nothing but the loss of public credit could affect materially the value of our currency. To maintain this credit, to strengthen it at home and abroad, has been the object of the Republican party. Under its wise management our national credit has steadily improved. Our securities are sought for as among the best and safest in the world, and if the party whose administration has brought about so favorable a result is continued in power, we may confidently look forward to the refunding of our national debt at a low rate of interest, thus in this single item saving annu-

ally millions of dollars to the Government. We appeal to true citizens everywhere, to all who desire to maintain the credit of the nation, to all who appreciate a good currency, that is gradually approaching a gold basis, to all who are in any way interested in maintaining public faith, to lay aside petty prejudices and local issues, and earnestly support the party that has rendered noble service to the Republic. Its overthrow means the loss of public credit, the paralyzation of business enterprise, the depreciation of national securities, and eventually a repudiation of national obligations.

A SUMMARY OF ACHIEVEMENTS.

To do justice to a review of Republican achievements would fill a volume. A brief summary will be a fitting conclusion to the statements already made.

During the period of Republican ascendancy we have seen the nation increase in population from 1860 to 1870, 7,115,050, with an estimated increase, up to the present time, of 11,500,000. We have seen an increase of the products of manufactures during the same time of \$2,231,931,594, with a probable increase, up to this time, of over \$3,000,000,000. We have seen an increase in the true wealth of the Northern States, up to 1870, \$13,908,902,439, which to-day may be estimated at \$20,000,000,000. We have seen the assessed valuation of real estate increase in ten years \$3,128,501,392, which at the present time would make it over \$4,000,000,000. We have seen the Government successfully conducting financial operations of great magnitude, and improving its credit, while meeting obligations which bore heavily upon its resources. We have seen a defective State currency system supplanted by one of a national character, safe, sound, and effective, and destined to become, at no distant day, the most perfect currency system ever devised by man. Yet these items of growth and improvements are but a few of the many that could be presented if time permitted.

The homestead acts; the building of the Pacific railroad; the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments, and the legislation necessary to enforce their provisions; the reconstruc-

tion of the Southern States; the settlement of the Alabama claims and the vexed San Juan boundary; establishment of life-saving stations; protection to immigrants; encouragement of labor; advancement of science and education; and above all, the crowning work of the century—the abolition of human slavery—are items in the long list of Republican triumphs which will insure the gratitude of posterity, and ever command the admiration of the world.

Is a party record, so glorious and praiseworthy, to be destroyed by the breath of slander, or blotted out from the hearts of a grateful people by the efforts of partisan malice? Is a party that has given such transcendent evidence of its ability to govern wisely, and justly, and honestly the affairs of a great nation to be laid aside just as the fruits of its noble labors are ripening to the touch? No! We speak for the American people—who are not ungrateful, who still bear in remembrance the services of the past, who are yet unwilling to trust a country saved by loyal blood and treasure in the hands of those who encouraged its destruction—when we say that despite the efforts of Democracy, and the schemes of bad men, the Republican party will still be supported by the loyal element of the country as the only party that has been faithful to its trust, and that is able to protect the nation's honor while advancing the nation's prosperity.

It would be an act little short of national suicide to turn over to Democratic hands the administration of our national affairs. Democracy before the war was under the complete influence of Southern sentiment, during the war it aided and abetted the Southern cause, since the close of the war, through the period of reconstruction, it has done all within its power to obstruct the course of justice and to encourage the disloyal element in secret and open defiance of the Federal authority. If in any of its measures the Republican party has fallen short of the complete success promised, the failure can be traced directly to the obstruction placed in its way by Democracy.

The present policy of the Democratic party if indorsed by the people must inevitably lead to national bankruptcy, through

the destruction of our credit and the prostration of our industries. Under the mock cry of reform the pauper element of Europe would overrun the free labor of America; our currency, through its irredeemable character, would become worthless; our securities would sink in value and cease to be quoted in the money markets of the world; and a financial panic, involving general ruin to the agricultural, manufacturing, and mercantile interests, would of necessity follow.

The bills introduced in the Democratic House of Representatives calling for payment of Southern claims, the efforts to secure the repeal of wise laws, the legislative obstructions which have been placed in the way of necessary appropriation bills, and the spirit of opposition which has been manifested against those measures which have been sanctioned by the loyal sentiment of the nation since the close of the war, all go to show that Democracy is not in sympathy with the nation and could not, if in-

trusted with power, advance its interests or protect its honor.

A moment's reflection ought to convince the unprejudiced mind that Democracy cannot be trusted. Within its ranks the most dangerous elements of society are found united. It is not claimed that every Democrat is disloyal, but it is claimed and it cannot be denied that every disloyal man in the nation is a Democrat. The Republican party has none of this class within its ranks; and this thought, of itself, should prompt good citizens everywhere to stand by the party that represents, not only the intelligence and virtue of the nation, but the loyal sentiment on which its existence depends. The practical question for the people to answer in the present campaign is, "Ought the Government in time of peace to be intrusted to those who were its secret and open enemies in time of war?" This is the *vital issue* before the people. On its proper settlement depends the peace and prosperity of the nation.

THE THEORY OF THE RIGHT TO IGNORE THE STATE A FALLACY.

When a first principle is laid down by a writer, and he argues from it to a given conclusion, and tells us that his conclusion is logically derived therefrom, and we have unbounded confidence in the soundness of his first principle, there is often great danger of our accepting his conclusion upon insufficient evidence. For our conclusion to be legitimately derived from our first principle we must suppose that all the factors affecting and entering into the problem have been given their exact value. We shall presently find that those who hold the citizen has a right to ignore the State, and who also hold that such right is legitimately derived from the law of equal freedom, that is, the freedom of each limited only by the like freedom of all, overlook the value of an important element which enters into the question.

Mr. Herbert Spencer, in his "Social Statics," tells us, "as a corollary to the preposition that all institutions must be subordinated to the law of equal freedom

we cannot choose but to admit the right of the citizen to adopt a condition of voluntary outlawry." We here see that Mr. Spencer does not base his argument by which he arrives at this conclusion upon any bad faith or shortcomings of the State towards the citizen, but upon the law of equal freedom. Much could be said tending to show that the theory of the right to ignore the State is practically the State's right doctrine logically carried out which led to the attempted secession of the Slave States from the Union, resulting in the war of the rebellion. But if the theory cannot be shown to be philosophically unsound, to be in conflict with the law of equal freedom independently of the State's right doctrine, it would be useless to combat it from any other stand-point whatever. And if the right to ignore the State is not a corollary from the law of equal freedom, it must be shown that Mr. Spencer has left out some element that should have been taken in, that he has not considered all the factors entering into the problem. A

person to sever his connection with a thing, corporation, or institution implies a previous connection with such corporation or institution, in some way or other. This is a truth which we may suppose will not be questioned by any one capable of formulating a logical train of thought of ordinary simplicity. It will be well, therefore, to at once briefly examine the nature of the citizen's connection with the institution called the State, which it is claimed he has the right to ignore. What is meant by the State and what constitutes a citizen I think should be definitely understood at the threshold of the discussion. Whether our definition of what is meant by the State be broad enough or not to suit all, I feel sure it is one upon which there will probably be found no difference of opinion as far as it goes. The State, then, we may consider an institution or mutual safety confederation whose sole function is for the purpose of protecting those composing it, the guaranteeing to every citizen all the freedom he wills, provided he infringes not the equal freedom of any other citizen. But to more fully illustrate the connection of the citizen with the State let us introduce for a moment a witness cross-examined by Mr. Spencer: "Your hypothesis," asks Mr. Spencer of the witness whom he cross-examines, "implies that men when they entered into the social state * * * entered into it voluntarily; does it not?"

"It does."

"Then they must have considered the social state preferable to that under which they had previously lived?"

"Necessarily."

"Why did it appear preferable?"

"Because it offered greater security."

"Greater security for what?"

"Greater security for life, for property, for the things that minister to happiness."

"Exactly; to get more happiness, that must have been the object. If they had expected to get more unhappiness they would not have willingly made the change, would they?"

"No."

"Does not happiness consist in the due satisfaction of all the desires? in the due exercise of all the faculties?"

"Yes."

"And this exercise of the faculties is impossible without freedom of action. The desires cannot be satisfied without liberty to pursue and use the objects of them?"

"True."

"Now, it is this freedom to exercise the faculties within specified limits which we signify by the term rights, is it not?"

"It is."

"Well, then, summing up your answers, it seems that, by your hypothesis, man entered the social state voluntarily, which means that he entered it for the sake of obtaining greater happiness; which means that he entered it to obtain fuller exercise of his faculties; which means that he entered it to obtain greater security for such exercise; which means that he entered it for the guaranteeing of his rights?" * * *

"Then to say that men formed themselves into communities to prevent the constant violation of their claims to life and property is to say that they did it for the preservation of their rights?"

"It is."

"Wherefore either way we find that the preservation of rights was the object sought."

This is a fair statement of the case, and represents in a strong light the true purposes of social organization. Again, Aristotle says "the State is nothing else but an association of equal beings seeking in common a happy and comfortable existence." A citizen, then, is an individual belonging to this mutual-safety confederation, association, or institution which we call the State, and from his own testimony it is shown that by belonging to it he must derive certain benefits or advantages, consisting in the better security for life, for property, and for those things that minister to happiness.

The State being a combination of individuals or social units for purposes of mutual protection or better preservation of their rights, it follows that there must be some means of protection, some agent employed whose duty it shall be to stand guard over the community, or that portion of it engaged in other occupations than that of giving protection. Now, the objects sought by social organization, better security, better preservation of individual rights, may be

had in either of two ways. There may be an alternation of guard duties by each citizen, or the community may employ a certain number of its own members, if any choose to engage, whose sole specialized function shall be to stand guard over and afford protection to the others. In the evolution of society the latter method is that which probably always comes gradually to be adopted. Let it now be borne in mind that our first principle, "the freedom of each limited only by the like freedom of all," implies that no one has complete freedom. The complete freedom of all belongs only to the ideally perfect social state, which universal humanity will probably never reach. If men could live in the presence of each other with complete freedom of action, there would be no necessity for the existence of the agent which we call government. But we cannot even think of the existence of government, without also thinking of the existence of something else antagonistic to the happiness of those employing it. Indeed, it would be as easy for us to think of an effect without a cause as to think of the existence of government without also thinking of the imperfections of men's moral constitutions making it necessary. Now, it is perfectly clear that those whose specialized duty is to afford protection cannot have as great a sense of security, and in fact will not have as great security for life, as those they are guarding or protecting. The very existence of government, too, implies vicarious suffering ; and, having employed a certain number of our neighbors to ward off impending evils which we acknowledge would afflict us without intervention of some kind, we cannot equitably drop connection with them on our own account ; for those rendering such important service as that of shielding us from danger have as much right to put a price upon their services as those accepting them. That is to say, in a social organization such as we are considering, relations become established that cannot equitably be dissolved by any single individual social unit without his claiming for himself greater freedom than some other individuals of the society. It may be said, however, that those employed

in this service which gives less security for life were free to contribute no more than their *pro rata* of such service to the general security. But whether such service be performed alternately by each citizen, or whether society employs a certain number of its members who make the function of affording protection a specialized duty, does not alter the fact that a member employed and injured in the performance of his duty is not as free to drop connection with the State as the citizen who has been protected, and enjoys that security for life and for property which he entered into the social state to obtain, and which has been bought by vicarious suffering.

There have been within the past few years in India villages and districts almost depopulated by tigers. If we suppose, now, a colony of Europeans to settle in some district there uninhabited by the natives, and the settlers to agree among themselves to employ a given part of their number to protect the remainder in carrying on their agricultural, industrial, and commercial pursuits against the ravages of tigers and other wild beasts ; and if we further suppose those so employed after awhile to succeed in destroying nearly all of these enemies, but in doing it receive various physical injuries, will any one capable of the smallest appreciation of justice say that these maimed and injured members are as free to drop connection with the society as those who have been protected in the enjoyment of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness ? We cannot think so. If, then, the citizen cannot equitably withdraw from a society without its consent under these circumstances, he cannot without cause under any circumstances where the combination is for protective purposes ; for, if a principle is true of a hundred persons combined or associated together for a definite purpose, it must be equally true of a hundred thousand or a hundred millions associated together for similar purposes. Well, so long as it may be necessary to employ the agent we call government to give better security for life, for property, and for the things that minister to happiness, there must of necessity be that vicarious suffering implied by the existence of armies, navies, and policemen. The very fact of a man

living in a community physically sound and in possession of property, while his neighbors around him carry various disabilities contracted in shielding him from evil, shows that he has fared better than they. But for this protection which secures to him greater happiness and greater exercise for his faculties than would have been possible without it, he may hold that the sacrifices which he has made toward paying for his protection are equivalent to the services rendered for that purpose. Such temporary sacrifices, however, are not equivalent to the services rendered in giving protection, as we shall presently see. Security for the lives and for the property of certain individuals implies, as has already been stated, that pain and insecurity must be borne by certain other individuals. Or, putting it another way, those efficiently protected we may consider permanently benefited, whilst, in many cases, those engaged in the specialized duty of giving protection are permanently injured. Can any one reasonably say, then, that a human life may actually be valued at a certain sum, or that even a limb may be so valued? Can we justly say that society owes nothing to the orphaned child whose father has been killed that other individuals might repose in security? Can we justly assert that society owes nothing more than his wages to the date of disability to the man who has lost a limb or become otherwise disabled in its service? No, we have no right to value so lightly the services of those who have thus devoted themselves to our well-being. The orphan who has lost a father and the man who has lost a limb in the service of society have claims upon society that should not be carelessly estimated, much less rejected. Until we can make an exact calculation how much we are indebted to those who have been killed for us and to those who have lost limbs or become otherwise disabled for us, and liquidated their claims, the conclusion appears inevitable that we have not the right to drop connection with the State, even though our association with it has been voluntary. We are supposing all the time, however, the State to be performing what we considered at the outset its legitimate function, protection; for no charges were

then made against it as a cause for claiming the right to ignore it. We call protection its legitimate function, because, as already stated, there is no difference of opinion on this point. But the moment we assign to it other functions, then there immediately arises a difference of opinion, and frequently a very serious difference. If A voluntarily combines with B, C, and Z for a definite purpose he cannot, without some qualification, limitation, or changing of the originally-defined purpose of the combination without his sanction, justly withdraw from it, unless it can be shown that all the other members are equally free to withdraw. And this we know would be next to impossible in almost any social organization of which we can form any conception. Having accepted the service of the State's agent (Government) to give us protection we cannot equitably say to the State, as soon as the evil has been removed from our doors, that our obligations to it immediately cease, because its agent is composed of sentient beings like ourselves, who also have rights that cannot justly be ignored. Any section of our race once organized into a society is very much like an individual of one of the more complex organisms, in this: that the failure of any one of its members to perform its specialized function affects more or less all the other members in the healthy performance of their specialized functions. We have seen, too, that in any society in which government is absolutely necessary it is impossible for all the members to be equally free to drop connection with it, for the reason that the very nature of the association implies, as has been shown, vicarious suffering and sacrifices which must render some more unfit than others to get along without the continued existence of some kind of social organization. It cannot be logically held that the duties of the State to the citizen are any more binding than the duties of the citizen to the State. Hence, then, it follows that if the citizen has a right to ignore the State the State has a right to refuse protection to the citizen. Mr. Spencer nowhere in his social statics goes so far as this.

If it is true, as we have endeavored to show, that the citizen has no right to ignore the State it must be equally true, for it is a

logical sequence, that the State has no right to ignore the Government, which holds to it the same relations that it holds to the citizen. States are but individuals in their collective or organized capacity, and the Government over all—that is the nation—is but a larger collection and more extensive organization, and the duties of the smaller combinations to it are equally binding with those of the citizen to the State. The theory of secession is a defective one, whether it is applied to the citizen in his right to withdraw from the authority of the State or the State in its right to withdraw from the authority of the nation. To admit the first is to admit the last—to deny the first is to deny the latter. Both are equally repugnant, opposed to reason, common sense, and good government.

As the State protects the citizen and secures to him the enjoyment of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, so the nation protects the State, and makes it possible, through this protection, for it to protect its

citizens. Independent States, without superior power over them, would be in the same condition as independent individuals without the protection of society, the weaker ones would be at the mercy of the stronger, and each would be a law unto itself without power to compel others to respect its rights or to defend itself against despotic encroachment. Under a well-organized State the weakest individual has the same rights before the law as the strongest, and the power of the State compels the recognition of those rights; so, under a well-organized nation like our own, the weakest State has equal rights with the strongest, and the power of the nation exercised over all compels each State to recognize and respect the rights of the others. On this theory of mutual protection the American Union is based, and to acknowledge the theory of secession as a correct one would be to destroy all hope of government among men, and to defeat the very object for which society was organized, mutual protection.

THE BLOODY SHIRT.

That those who realize that the nation was saved from destruction through the devotion of the loyal adherents to the Union should sometimes refer to the history of the war is to be expected. The retrospect has its lessons, its admonitions, and its warnings. It brought about changes not only in the mutual relations of the citizens of the Republic, but also in our position as regards foreign States. State policy is forever changing, and never so much as when it has to be shaped by the results of a war. The conquered generally have to succumb to the victor; the victor usually endeavors to dictate his policy. Never in the history of the world can be found an instance where the vanquished have so soon been called into the councils of the prevailing party as is presented in the legislation of the last few years of the United States. But though clemency is commendable and equality before the law the heritage of all American citizens, future generations will never fail to draw experience from the history of the

American civil war. It is as necessary to draw inferences therefrom as it is to cite the counsel of our patriots and sages. It has entailed upon us a debt, to meet which all our financial policy has to be shaped. It has given to the nation wards and pensioners whose care requires not only grievous taxation but armies of officials. It has cast loose upon the social system four millions of people to degrade and debase whom was the business and interest of those who raised their hands against the parent government. Any statesman who is chosen to participate in the councils of the nation and who would ignore the issues of the war in shaping the policy of the country is not only incapable but unworthy of the trust. Those few statesmen left who passed through the ordeal of the battle for the Union naturally recognize the terrible legacy it has left the people, and pause when any movement is made that aims to curtail its benefits or negate the truths it has established. Naturally they shudder when they see efforts made to

debase or lower the public credit by those whose avowed effort is to place the bonds of the Confederate government on the same basis as the Union loan. Naturally they feel shocked at the proposition to place the soldiers who wore the grey side by side on the pension rolls with the gallant boys in blue. Naturally they feel appalled when they see those from whom the shackles of slavery have been broken denied equality of rights guaranteed them by law written in heroes' blood. When these issues are presented to them, as they are daily, naturally they turn over the pages of the history of the war, draw in new inspiration from hallowed memories, and feel that though the sword is sheathed there are many victories that peace has yet to gain. To keep these problems before the people, to provide for the burden the war has made inevitable for years to come, the statistics of history must be relied upon, and it is idle, cruel, and the very height of folly to cry out bloody shirt when statesmen find it necessary to stand on the watch towers of the nation and give timely warning of threatening storms. There is entirely too much sentimentality on this subject. If the slightest allusion is made to the record of any person who was prominent in the Confederate cause a howl goes up throughout the land that we must forget and forgive everything and everybody. If the logical sequences of the war are sought to be carried out, and to do so intelligently the records of filthy prison dens, the haunts of pirates, and the scenes of conspirators have to be looked into, it will not do to cry out blatantly, Bloody Shirt! The war has left records, traces, scars, and wounds that, like Banquo's ghost, will not down at the mere bidding. It is in vain to cry, like Lady Macbeth, "Out damned spot," the stain is on the palm. There is another side to the bloody shirt business, and it is of no use to deny it. Those persons, however honest now or heretofore, who by force of circumstances or by inclination fought against the Union, have by the very fact been taught in a school that has had more or less influence on their judgment and powers of reason; they see things from a different stand-point than do those who never swerved from their

country's flag. It is impossible to be otherwise. They have acquired opinions that in their very nature will not allow them to appreciate the broad, luminous doctrines that have become, by the fire of the cannon, welded into the American Constitution and have created what must be recognized as the fundamental law of the land. There is a restless spirit in the land that will not admit or recognize this American system; that will not admit and will not recognize that we are a nation; that still insists that the organic law of the land can be set aside by State enactments and is subservient to municipal codes. The duty of the Republican party is to root out this political heresy, and if in carrying out their mission it is sometimes necessary to hold up pictures that these incredulous students have placed in the family photograph album, it will not do to cry out bloody shirt every time the book is opened and portraits of heroes and martyrs are displayed. Be it as it may, it may as well be understood plainly that these lessons will have to be read, this history will have to be consulted, until every man in the country, however humble, whatever may have been his previous condition, shall be able to sit at his own fireside unmolested, shall be in practice as well as in theory equal before the law; and more than that, shall be able and free, without let or hinderance, to cast his vote for whomsoever he pleases. It is plain that the Republican party has to assert and maintain this, and for doing so the sneer is thrown at them of aiming to flaunt the bloody shirt. Now it is plain that the party opposed to the Republicans take a contrary view, try to make municipal law supreme and paramount, to which the national will must succumb; it is plain that the rights of freemen are to be circumscribed and narrowed down by local legislation. This local legislation is but the outgrowth of doctrines that have been proven to be pernicious to the public weal, but they have been bred in the bone and cannot be gotten out of the flesh until the good sense of a rising generation becomes reconciled to the logic of events. When Republicans say, what is as plain as the sun at noonday, that the opposition to the organic law of the Republic is the effect of a cause, and that cause was disloyalty to the Union, they state but a truth, and though

the heavens fall it had better be stated. A disease must be properly diagnosed before a remedy can be understandingly prescribed. The Republican party, which is the only true reform party that ever handled the reins of government, has the duty to repel every new invasion on the rights of the people, and it is poor argument to simply meet them with the cry of bloody shirt. They may pertinently answer that the shirt has no stains upon it from their hands; they may reply that from no act, desire, or wish of theirs was the shirt made bloody; they may reply that when the body of a brother is stabbed his raiment is very likely to become saturated with his blood, and that though the blow may be forgiven and the wound healed, still the scar should be a lesson to him who gave the blow fully as much as to the stricken. While it is true that those who were at enmity with the Government and sought its life cannot fully comprehend the true theory of the American system, just so true is it that those who were always with the people and for

the people are the best to understand their wants, their rights, their privileges, and their powers.

Because the Republican party are of the people, are with the people; because they understand their rights; because they maintained them; because they always stood up for the privileges of the people and *never against them*; because they knew the power of the people and *never sought to destroy it*, therefore are they the fit party and the only safe party to trust, because in spite of clamor, in spite of being accused of shaking a bloody shirt, they have the courage and the manhood to stand up for the rights of the people they are the party to trust. As for the cry of bloody shirt, it is a mere effort to turn people aside from main issues. It is the cry of mad dog, it involves no principle, discusses no theory, it is simply a whine uttered by the demagogue under the smart of being detected pandering to the tastes of the country's enemies, or found fawning in the smiles of the hero of an hour.

GOVERNOR HAYES' LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.

The following is the letter of Governor Hayes, accepting the Republican nomination for the Presidency:

COLUMBUS, OHIO, July 8, 1876.

Hon. Edward McPherson, Hon. William A. Howard, Hon. Joseph H. Rainey, and others,
Committee of the Republican National Convention:

GENTLEMEN: In reply to your official communication of June 17, by which I am informed of my nomination for the office of President of the United States by the Republican National Convention at Cincinnati, I accept the nomination with gratitude, hoping that under Providence I shall be able, if elected, to execute the duties of the high office as a trust for the benefit of all the people. I do not deem it necessary to enter upon any extended examination of the declaration of principles made by the convention. The resolutions are in accord with my views, and I heartily concur in the principles they announce. In several of the resolutions, however, questions are considered which are of such importance that I deem it proper to briefly express my convictions in regard to them.

The fifth resolution adopted by the convention is of paramount interest. More than

forty years ago a system of making appointments to office grew up, based upon the maxim "to the victors belong the spoils." The old rule, the true rule, that honesty, capacity, and fidelity constitute the only real qualifications for office, and that there is no other claim, gave place to the idea that party services were to be chiefly considered. All parties, in practice, have adopted this system. It has been essentially modified since its first introduction. It has not, however, been improved. At first the President, either directly or through the heads of departments, made all the appointments. But gradually the appointing power in many cases passed into the control of members of Congress. The offices in these cases have become not merely rewards for party services but rewards for services to party leaders. This system destroys the independence of the separate departments of the Government. "It tends directly to extravagance and official incapacity." It is a temptation to dishonesty. It hinders and impairs that careful supervision and strict accountability by which alone faithful and efficient public service can be secured. It obstructs the prompt removal and sure punishment of the unworthy. In every way it degrades the civil service, and the character

of the Government. It is felt, I am confident, by a large majority of the members of Congress to be an intolerable burden and an unwarrantable hinderance to the proper discharge of their legitimate duties. It ought to be abolished. The reform should be thorough, radical, and complete; we should return to the principles and practice of the founders of the Government, supplying by legislation, when needed, that which was formerly established by custom; they neither expected nor desired from the public officer any partisan service; they meant that public officers should owe their whole service to the Government and to the people; they meant that the officer should be secure in his tenure as long as his personal character remained untarnished and the performance of his duties satisfactory. If elected, I shall conduct the administration of the Government upon these principles, and all constitutional powers vested in the Executive will be employed to establish this reform. The declaration of principles by the Cincinnati Convention makes no announcement in favor of a single Presidential term. I do not assume to add to that declaration; but believing that the restoration of the civil service to the system established by Washington and followed by the early Presidents can be best accomplished by an Executive who is under no temptation to use the patronage of his office to promote his own re-election, I desire to perform what I regard as a duty in stating now my inflexible purpose, if elected, not to be a candidate for election to a second term.

On the currency question I have frequently expressed my views in public, and stand by my record on this subject. I regard all the laws of the United States relating to the payment of the public indebtedness, the legal-tender notes included, as constituting a pledge and moral obligation of the Government which must in good faith be kept. It is my conviction that the feeling of uncertainty inseparable from an irredeemable paper currency, with its fluctuations of value, is one of the great obstacles to a revival of confidence and business and to a return of prosperity. That uncertainty can be ended in but one way, the resumption of specie payments. But the longer the instability connected with our present money system is permitted to continue the greater will be the injury inflicted upon our commercial interests and all classes of security. If elected I shall approve every appropriate measure to accomplish the desired end, and shall oppose any step backward. The resolution with respect to the public school system is one which should receive the hearty support of the American people. Agitation upon this subject is to be appre-

hended until by constitutional amendment the schools are placed beyond all danger of sectarian control or interference. The Republican party is pledged to secure such an amendment. The resolution of the convention on the subject of the permanent pacification of the country, and the complete protection of all its citizens in the free enjoyment of all their constitutional rights, is timely and of great importance. The condition of the Southern States attracts the attention and commands the sympathy of the people of the whole Union in their progressive recovery from the effects of the war. Their first necessity is an intelligent and honest administration of government which will protect all classes of citizens in all their political and private rights. What the South most needs is "Peace," and peace depends upon the supremacy of law.

There can be no enduring peace if the constitutional rights of any portion of the people are habitually disregarded. A division of political parties, resting merely upon distinctions of race, or upon sectional lines, is always unfortunate and may be disastrous. The welfare of the South, alike with that of every other part of the country, depends upon the attractions it can offer to labor, to immigration, and to capital; but laborers will not go, and capital will not venture, where the Constitution and the laws are set at defiance, and distraction, apprehension, and alarm take the place of peace-loving and law-abiding social life. All parts of the Constitution are sacred, and must be sacredly observed—the parts that are new no less than the parts that are old. The moral and material prosperity of the Southern States can be most effectively advanced by a hearty and generous recognition of the rights of all by all, a recognition without reserve or exception. With such a recognition fully accorded it will be practicable to promote, by the influence of all legitimate agencies of the General Government, the effort of the people of these States to obtain for themselves the blessings of honest and capable local government. If elected, I shall consider it not only my duty, but it will be my ardent desire to labor for the attainment of this end. Let me assure my countrymen of the Southern States that, if I shall be charged with the duty of organizing an administration, it will be one which will regard and cherish their truest interests, the interests of the white and the colored people, both and equally, and which will put forth its best efforts in behalf of a civil policy which will wipe out forever the distinction between the North and South in our common country; with a civil service organized upon a system which will secure purity, experience, efficiency, and economy; a strict regard

for the public welfare solely in appointments, and the speedy, thorough, and unsparring prosecution and punishment of all public officers who betray official trusts; with a sound currency; with education unsectarian, and free to all; with simplicity and frugality in public and private affairs, and with a fraternal spirit of harmony pervading the peo-

ple of all sections and classes, we may reasonably hope that the second century of our existence as a nation will, by the blessing of God, be pre-eminent as an era of good feeling and a period of progress, prosperity, and happiness.

Very respectfully, your fellow citizen,
R. B. HAYES.

WHAT OUR PUBLIC SCHOOLS HAVE DONE FOR THE NATION.

Our fathers, the founders of the Republic, were men who understood the science of government and the doctrine of liberty. The addition of a new Power to the States of the world, without a monarch or a favored class of hereditary nobility, was regarded as an experiment which time alone would justify or destroy. It was indeed a problem in whose solution all humanity was interested, inasmuch as the foundation on which the whole political structure was to rest was the equality of all men before the law, and the consequent security of life and property and the rights of the individual. The Republic was born of blood and sacrifice when the world was fighting for dominion. No gushing theories of human perfection, borrowed from foreign enthusiasts, disturbed the stern minds of the men who battled for independence. Nor was there any intention of making this country the theater to try the revolutionary philosophy of France. American statesmen beheld from afar the struggle of the French people, and witnessed their defeat from two causes: First, the lack of popular intelligence and political knowledge; and secondly, the crushing influence of a political sacerdotalism inspired from Rome, which was adverse to popular liberty and enchain'd and misled the leaders of the people.

With such an example before them our fathers were likely to learn a profitable lesson. Church and State were eternally separated, and the proper measures taken for public instruction; and it was announced as an axiom that the stability and prosperity of the Republic depended upon the intelligence of its citizens. From that time till 1855 the efforts of the free States to make provision for the education of their youth were proportionate to their population. But

the zeal of the South in the same direction materially lessened; and there grew up amid the white communities of masters and people who believed in the peculiar institution, the slaves, who were ignorant as cattle, and the mean whites, who despised both learning and labor. The breaking out of the rebellion; the ejection of the Democratic party from power; the succession to power of the Republican party, which fought the war and saved the Union; the emancipation of the slaves and their citizenship; and the reconstruction of the South, followed as historic sequences. Next to the grand old principle of human freedom, which the Republican party has wrought out, stands the avowal of the necessity of public education for the purpose of preserving it. And one of the earliest duties undertaken by Republicans was that of making provision for educating all within the States. This was a great work and proceeded well until it was unfortunately discovered in the South that general education would destroy the claim of the slave power, and put the colored man on the plane of independence.

The work, however, was carried on in the North, East, and West with increasing vigor, and with a determination to protect it from assault. Immense progress was made both in the method and in the means of education, and both have been utilized in our public schools. The country feels the advantages of public schools in the formation of character, and in the intelligent adaptation of the people to the quiet performance of the duties of citizenship. This was observed by Professor Goldwin Smith, of Cornell University, who was formerly Professor of Modern History at Oxford, England. He came here

a stranger; but being by profession an educator, he examined the system of public education prevailing amongst us from the stand-point of one who understood his subject, and was well qualified to give an opinion. Mr. Smith's testimony to the influence of our public schools is not only pleasant to read, but, as that of a faithful observer, confirms the views of Republicans of the importance of education as developing a manly manhood and that peculiar attitude of mind which makes the American citizen a conservator of public order, fitting him for the position he is to occupy as a part of the Government of the Nation or State. Mr. Smith says:

"It has been truly said that secular education does not mean irreligious. A secular school here is different from a religious school, but not opposed to it. What branch of education in the common schools has any tendency to corrupt children's moral sense? I am not a blind worshipper of the Americans or their institutions, but I tell you that the influence of their common schools is good,

morally as well as intellectually. Though there are bad things and bad men in America the influence of these schools is good, and they tend in the main to produce not 'clever devils,' but a law-loving and God-fearing nation; and if you ask about manners, I tell you I have been in the United States in the midst of exciting political contests, when the struggle has been going on between North and South, and that I saw meetings of both parties and torchlight processions on both sides of the streets, and not on one side or the other did I observe the slightest discourteous interruption of their opponents. I say those schools will not do everything, then, for I know very well that a moral and religious teacher must exert his influence in order to train the character of the child; but the effect of the schools, upon the whole, is to produce a moral as well as an intelligent population, and if the morality and intelligence of the nation are promoted by their common school system, so is their wealth."

These words are worth remembering. And Republicans should resolve to do their utmost to preserve the public schools in their independence and integrity.

THE FIRST VOTE.

At the next general election there will be a large number of young men who will cast their first ballot. Many of this class of voters will form opinions and mark out a political course that will be pursued throughout their lives, while others, of less consideration, will vote now and hereafter as circumstances may direct. As the first vote is the first recognition of manhood by the State, it is important that that vote should be considered and duly weighed before it is placed in the box, and that the young man who casts it may be conscientiously convinced that he is voting right, and that he is not giving his support to the promulgation of errors that may eventuate in detriment to or destruction of the Government. With the voters rest the responsibility, and they alone are accountable for good, bad, or indifferent officers that may be elevated to power. It therefore behoves every young man who is about to step into the political arena to consider well the responsibility that is thus thrust upon him. Although un-sought there is no escaping it, and no man should shrink from it. If there ever was a

time when our country needed the cool, calm, and decided action of her wise and patriotic sons, that time is now. The spirit of treason is abroad, and as the campaign progresses this spirit will become more apparent. The late rebel element is defiant, and, united with the Democracy, every effort, both fair and unfair, will be made to carry the election for Tilden and Hendricks.

Judging from the past, we know what to expect in the future, and all good citizens should co-operate to secure a fair expression at the polls in November next. To young men who are to cast their first ballot we would say: Study carefully the history of the two parties for the past fifteen years. Compare the records of each since 1861, and then decide as to which party we are indebted for a united country and a substantial Government. Decide within your own mind which party has been guilty of treason and which remained loyal to the old flag, and by force of arms sustained and perpetuated the Government under which we now live. Determine which party furnished the soldiers and statesmen that prosecuted the war and

reconstructed the Government that it did not perish in the first century of its existence. Discriminate as to the present position of the two parties on the important questions of finance, labor, free schools, Church and

State, and all other questions that concern the welfare and prosperity of our people as a nation. This done, you will be able to vote intelligently, and to deposit your first ballot for the party of the Union.

TILDEN AND TWEED.

Samuel J. Tilden and William M. Tweed were formerly bosom friends. Evidence is fast accumulating that a portion of the money stolen by Tweed was used by Tilden and his fellow-politicians to run the Democratic machine. Tweed had special favors shown him while confined on the island. While at Ludlow-street jail he was permitted to go about the city in charge of an officer. It will be remembered that he escaped from custody while at his home in New York. Some power from behind the throne helped him. Circumstances point to Tilden as that power. Certain it is that as Governor of New York he has made no effort to discover his whereabouts. Not a dollar of reward has been offered for his capture. Even the Democratic sheriff who allowed him to escape still holds his position.

The following letters may throw a little light on the relationship existing when Tweed was in his glory between himself and the present candidate for Democratic honors on the so-called reform ticket:

NO. 15 GRAMERCY PARK,
August 12, 1866—11 A. M.

MY DEAR SIR: I decided to go to Philadelphia in the morning, and shall not be able to see you before I leave. Mr. Richmond is at the St. Nicholas somewhat ill. If well enough he will come on the 2 P. M. train. Whether he is there to-day or not I hope you will not fail to be in Philadelphia.

Very truly, your friend,
S. J. TILDEN.

HON. WM. M. TWEED.

MY DEAR SIR: I beg to present to your attention the case of Mr. Samuel Allen, a very old friend of ours, who is in great need of a small appointment under your department, for which he has applied. He would be content with something for a time of not a very high rank. You will know him so well that I need add nothing. *He used to be a very efficient and useful worker*, and is an entirely reli-

able man, and I should be personally glad if you could help him.

Truly yours,
HON. WM. M. TWEED.

NEW YORK, September 8, 1868.
The National Broadway Bank will pay to order of William M. Tweed five thousand dollars.

(Signed) WILLIAM M. TWEED.
Indorsed "Pay S. J. Tilden or order."
WILLIAM M. TWEED.

For deposit in the Bank of North America.
S. J. TILDEN.

It would be well if the friends of Samuel, the Reformer, would rise and explain what he did with the \$5,000 received from Tweed. As the Democrats cast over 50,000 fraudulent votes in the city of New York in the fall of 1868 the receipt of this money from Tweed, the head of the Ring, looks suspicious, to say the least.

REFORM.—The Democrats are in favor of civil service reform. They have shown it in the House of Representatives. Every Union soldier suspected of being a Republican has been "bounced." There might be some compensation for this if Democratic Union soldiers took their places, but when ex-Confederate soldiers are quartered on Uncle Sam, as the best that can be done in the line of reform, even good-natured people will be found to object.

THE MIGHTY TRIO.—When two such illustrious ex-pounders as John Morrissey and John Kelly promise reform under Samuel J. Tilden, who can be so soulless as to doubt the genuineness of the reform movement. There must be hope for a nation that has in reserve such a mighty trio of reformers as Morrissey, Kelly, and Tilden. Oh, for a return of Tweed, the innocent, that a quartette might be formed to sing the praises of the Centennial year.

THE TRUE INWARDNESS OF DEMOCRACY.

If there was any chance for Mr. Tilden to be elected as a reformer that chance must be sadly interfered with when he explains his connection with his railway bonds. The charge has been made, and the people will bear in mind that no authentic denial has been given. But it is as a reformer that Mr. Tilden's friends delight to view him. As he looms up "the great ring smasher," ugly letters are published showing his connection with the Tweed ring, and with the acceptance of funds, it is said, to import repeaters from New York to Philadelphia for the purpose of increasing the Democratic vote. The loudest shrieker for Mr. Tilden as a reformer, who roars so loud that people cannot help recalling his unsavory name, is Charles A. Dana, of the New York *Sun*. He becomes absolutely oppressive by his demonstrations. He is a reformer himself and therefore knows what he is about. He has been a reformer ever since he was a disappointed applicant for office in the New York custom-house under a Republican administration. Mr. Dana is confiding to the last degree, if not a little indiscreet. He speaks of office-holders and reform; of the effect of the votes of men in office for Hayes and Wheeler; and what Mr. Tilden will do with them when he becomes the reform President. The *sun* says:

"ONE OUT OF EIGHTY THOUSAND.—The Republicans propose to elect Hayes President in place of Grant. The whole number of public offices is estimated to be eighty thousand. One is to be changed, and seventy-nine thousand nine hundred and ninety-nine left in! One drop in the pail of sour milk is to be changed—will that make the whole pail sweet?"

"Whereas, if Tilden is elected, the great majority of the public officers will stand not upon the order of their going, but go at once. This would be civil service reform in earnest; not a reform of one eighty-thousandth part, but a reform of the whole body."

"This view of the matter makes it very plain how electors who want to give their support to reform should vote. Those who desire one eighty-thousandth part of reform can vote for Hayes, while those who are for entire reform will vote for Tilden."

The true inwardness of which is the old Democratic war-cry, "To the victors belong the spoils." And Mr. Tilden being a reformer of most magnificent proportions,

though otherwise a very small man, intends to resort to the vulgar but very common practice of the Democratic party of turning out of office, if he has a chance, eighty thousand Republicans and replace them with Democrats. This is reform with a vengeance. Ugh!

THE REFORMER.—The *New York Times* makes some revelations regarding Tilden's private affairs which indicate that he has not always been a hard-money man. We extract as follows:

"The revelations concerning Tilden's shin-plaster mill in Northern Michigan continue. There were fifty-eight companies engaged in the manufacture of the 'currency,' the returns of two of which are thus stated: Iron Cliff, (Tilden's).....\$1,552,094.00 New York, (Tilden's).....2,112,666.66

"The whole amount of the currency issued in Michigan was over \$100,000,000, and it had an exclusive run from 1863 until 1874, when some persons were indicted for counterfeiting it, and the court discharged the prisoners on the ground that the currency itself was fraudulent and illegal, and it was no crime to counterfeit it. At the same time the revenue officers began to demand the internal revenue tax, and began to take evidence as to the amount in circulation. The tax was 10 per cent., and for the twelve years Tilden's share amounted to at least \$10,000,000. But by some secret manipulation a bill was smuggled through Congress on the night of March 3, 1875, remitting this tax, except for the last year. Here was the apostle of hard money talking and writing to the people upon the destructive demoralization of paper money, and pointing out the glories of hard money, while for twelve years he was running two mills for the manufacture of rag money, and palming it off on the miners as better than gold. Sam also had several stores in the neighborhood of the mines, where groceries and dry goods and a variety of other articles were for sale, and Sam made his notes legal tender in exchange for these goods. His notes being legal tender only at his own stores, the unfortunate holders had to make all their purchases from Tilden, who thus pocketed a handsome extra profit on the sale of his wares."

THURLOW WEED does not think Tilden would make a good President, even if he could be elected, as he could only be by the union of the Democracy with rebellion—a union which, if successful, would throw the Government into the hands of those who attempted to destroy the country.

DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL SLANDER.

England may have its elections, and there may be fighting and bribery, but the slander which afflicts this country is an element not to be found in British politics. No political speaker ventures to indulge in it, and however heated the contest, the press studiously abstains from villainous charges and scandalous aspersions from a wholesome fear of the law. Nor is there the slightest chance of politicians setting themselves to calumniate public men. If a charge is made and published it must be proved; for it has been purposely made dangerous and expensive to all of that class who are willing to tell what they know to the detriment of others from partisan motives or to aid the party to which they belong by attacking political opponents high in office or in public esteem. The law and the courts in England are relied upon to meet slanders. There is no occasion to pass the court by and ask Parliament to investigate a case by a special committee, where Whigs favor the Whigs, and Tories the Tories. Men stand in wholesome dread of slander because a slanderer has few friends, and a Parliamentary committee is not the tribunal before which a slander should be tried. The people of the United States might learn a useful lesson on this subject. Mean men have charged Blaine, Morton, Conkling, and Bristow with conduct which, if proved, would disqualify them for the Presidency. Blaine, in the midst of a Herculean defense, in which he fought the Democracy single handed, was stricken with sudden and dangerous illness. Morton took the slanderers at their word, and proved himself a war governor of which the nation may be proud. Conkling was not the man to destroy himself for a fee in a patent case. And no mule or "Mary Merritt" cases could make Bristow any other than he is—the man that introduced the element of backbone in politics, and when the revenue fell short, struck with all his might at the men who were guilty of fraud and brought them before the courts, where they were convicted and punished.

The Democrats have joined hands and

hearts with the ex-Confederates of the House of Representatives to render this session odious and notorious for bogus investigations and slanderous charges. The expenses of their investigating committees will far exceed a million dollars; and for this Democratic indulgence the people will have to pay. The investigations have been so numerous that nothing else has been done, and the session is drawing to a close with the appropriation bills in a chaotic state and unpassed. Democrats have always shown a desire to attempt to blacken the character and villify Republicans. The Democratic members of committees have taken as evidence the infamous statements of men who would have been put out of any decent court in Christendom. These statements were taken at irregular meetings, during the absence of Republican members, who are in the minority, and without cross-examinations by the Republicans charged, and the statements have been given to the Democratic press for publication and comment as if they were true! Will the people tolerate this infamy? Is it not time that the reign of slander terminated? Will not the people rally round the Republican candidate for President and other Republican candidates throughout the country, and destroy the last hope of the Democracy to accomplish the country's ruin? It all depends upon the people. If they are faithful to their trust and do their duty the assembling again of a Democratic-ex-Confederate House of Representatives will be an impossibility, and the insidions and dirty working of Democratic committees never be repeated.

Just how these committees work Mr. Clymer's may serve as a notable instance. It was Mr. Clymer's committee that investigated Lawrence Harney's charge of bribing Speaker Kerr with \$450 for securing a captain's commission for A. P. Green in the regular army. Mr. Strouse, a Democratic member of the House when Mr. Harney was a doorman, appeared as a witness before Mr. Clymer's committee to testify against Harney and in favor of Mr. Kerr. But he

had been true to his instincts as a Democrat notwithstanding. He had the misfortune to be cross-examined when the following incident was revealed. He had been paid upward of \$300 for his influence in securing an army commission for a person who did not pass the surgeon's examination, and the amount was returned by Mr. Strouse with the profoundest regret as a serious loss of official emolument. Mr. Clymer's committee acquitted Mr. Kerr, and Mr. Danford, a Republican member of the committee, took the opportunity to express himself in language which Republicans only can utter. Mr. Danford agreed with the conclusion of the committee, but charged upon the Democratic party the responsibility of the production of such men as Harney, a thorough falsifier and detractionist from the life-long good character of public men that should weigh in the balance, and the searching of junk-shops for old telegrams to show evidence relevant and irrelevant against the character of men in public and private life, as instanced by buying up the waste paper of a telegraph office to find evidence for Congressional investigating committees.

He challenged the Democracy to an issue like that, but said most emphatically that Mr. Harney is a bad man, and that the apparent truth of his story should guide them in consulting probabilities before they put another man on the witness stand to defame a public man, or no member of Congress would be safe from attack, no matter how pure his life had been before. He scouted the idea of a conspiracy in the matter, and charged it to Harney's inherent badness, and deprecated the indiscriminate attacks that had been made on even the President as degrading to our institutions and our nationality. He fully, entirely, and positively exonerated Mr. Kerr, and said the question was decided in a manner that must be not only pleasing to Mr. Kerr's friends, but thoroughly and entirely satisfactory to his family.

This is the way Republicans say what they mean. It has the ring of the true metal, and there is no room for slander in the heart of a Republican. Republicans have an inborn hatred of slander; and they repudiate it with all the scorn that arises

from a profound patriotism, and a determination to serve the people without resorting to what they abhor, even to acquitting a Democrat when convinced of his innocence as an example to Democrats to go, and do likewise to Republicans whom they know to be not guilty of the charges made against them.

RECONCILIATION.—It was no careless or hasty selection which secured for William A. Wheeler the second place on the ticket. He may be less known than he ought to be, in his native State as well as in the country at large; but wherever he is known his name elicits a warmth of attachment and esteem such as few public men have ever merited or enjoyed. Honest and moderate men of both political parties in the South have learned to respect in Mr. Wheeler one who appreciates the gravity of the problems with which the friends of Southern progress have to deal, and who discerns a nobler triumph than mere partisan advantage in the reconciliation of social and political elements whose interests are substantially the same.

TWO QUESTIONS.—Is our present system of national currency worth sustaining? If it is, then the party that created it and protects it must be sustained by the people in November next.

Are our national bonds worth protecting and the credit of the nation worth sustaining in the markets of the world? If so, there can be but one answer to the question, "Which party can best protect our bonds and our credit?" Common sense ought to dictate that the party which guarded both during the rebellion and since its close is the only party that can be trusted to protect them at the present time.

THE NEW LEADERSHIP.—The names of Rutherford B. Hayes and William A. Wheeler are amply sufficient guarantees that the party has shaken off the influences which threatened to paralyze it; that it has repudiated the corruption which its so-called leaders have suffered to stain its record and make its honest members hang their heads for shame. A campaign under such leadership will be an aggressive, enthusiastic, and united one.

THE MANUFACTURE OF PAPER MONEY.

The history of the system in vogue in the Treasury Department, inaugurated and carried into successful operation by a Republican administration, which took charge of the reins of government at a time when the country was threatened with a great civil war, and when the Departments in Washington were almost in a state of chaos, would be very interesting were the materials at hand to cover such an extended narrative. But as this is almost impossible just now, a sketch will be given simply of the methods of securing the interests of the Government in the printing, issue, redemption, and accounting of public securities.

THE PRINTING OF PAPER MONEY.

When the people of the North actually realized that war had begun they also discovered that the state of the finances would not permit the Government to take very stringent steps to protect itself. To remedy this, action was taken by Congress authorizing the issue of sixty million dollars in United States notes, payable in gold. These are known as the "old demand notes."

The suspension of specie payments by the banks, in December, 1861, was followed by the withdrawal of gold, silver, and even copper coin from circulation. Then the difficulty of making payment of small sums became so great that the people were driven to the use of postage and revenue stamps and the checks of individuals and corporations as substitutes.

To remedy this Congress on the 17th of July, 1862, passed an act authorizing payments in stamps of the United States, but prohibiting the circulation of notes of individuals and corporations. These stamps were exchangeable for United States notes.

Complaints were soon made, however, against this form of currency, it being subject to great losses, as was shown subsequently by the fact that while about twenty million dollars were issued there still remain some four million dollars outstanding, most of which will never be received at the Treasury.

To replace postal and revenue stamp currency the Secretary of the Treasury was by

act of March 3, 1863, empowered to issue a new fractional currency in like amounts—the same to be printed in the Treasury. A little more than twenty-three million dollars were thus printed and issued. This is known as the second issue of fractional currency.

To replace the "old demand notes" the first issue of what were termed "greenbacks" was authorized by act of July 25, 1862, of which there were printed nearly six hundred and seventy million dollars—the original act having been amended to admit of this large issue.

Following these issues came the—
One-year notes of 1863.
Two-year notes of 1863.
Two-year coupons of 1863.
Compound interest notes of 1863.
Compound interest notes of 1864.
Third issue of fractional currency.
Fourth issue of fractional currency.
United States notes of 1869.
Fractional currency, fourth issue—second series.
Fractional currency, fourth issue—third series.

United States notes of 1874.

The total paper money issued and redeemed since the beginning of the war, and outstanding on the 30th June, 1875, was as follows:

Issued .....	.....	\$2,081,224,564	45
Redeemed .....	.....	1,662,767,805	76

Outstanding 418,456,758 69

Thus it will be seen that the printed securities of the Government amounted in fifteen years to the enormous sum, in round numbers, of two thousand and eighty-one million dollars. Of this sum, which has been in the pockets of the people, there are nearly sixteen hundred and seventy-three million dollars now retired.

Prior to 1869 there was considerable difficulty found in preventing counterfeiting; and the printing of the early issues by Government was done under circumstances very discouraging to those who were compelled to devise systems for a work that required the greatest perfection in a thousand details, without precedents to guide them. Yet the

greatest credit is due for the success with which their efforts have been crowned.

The skilled workmen of the country were then in the employ of private corporations, and most of the work was necessarily given to the bank-note companies, they possessing the greatest facilities for the prompt execution of contracts. Gradually, however, the Government became its own printer, and to-day the major part of the work is done in the Treasury by Government employees.

DISTINCTIVE PAPER.

One of the sources of weakness in the printing of securities was found to be the facility with which the paper on which the securities were printed could be obtained by counterfeiters; and to afford the greatest protection against fraud an act was passed authorizing the making of a special kind of material known as "distinctive paper," to be used exclusively by the Government. All of the current notes, fractional currency, bonds, and stamps are printed on this kind of paper.

On the adoption of this material the mill in which it is manufactured was placed under the surveillance of the Treasury, which maintains a force of watchmen to guard against tampering with its manufacture. An agent of the Treasury is in charge as superintendent, who receives the paper from the manufacturer as soon as it is made, and stores or forwards it as directed. Every precaution is taken to prevent the loss of paper, and none but those employed are allowed access to the grounds. The mills are at Glen Falls, West Chester, Pa. In the manufacture of this "distinctive paper" short pieces of red silk are mixed with the pulp in an engine, and the finished material is conducted to a wire without passing through any screens which might retain the silk threads. By an arrangement above the wire cloth a shower of short pieces of fine blue silk thread is dropped carefully upon the paper while it is being formed. The lower side, on which the blue silk is deposited, is the one used for the back of the notes, and from the manner in which the threads are applied must show them more distinctly than the upper side, although they are embedded deep enough to remain fixed. Each

sheet is registered as soon as it is manufactured.

As soon as the paper is transferred to the care of the superintendent a report is made by the manufacturer and another by the superintendent, stating the date, size of paper delivered, number of sheets, and for what it is to be used. These reports are forwarded to the Secretary of the Treasury, and are examined and recorded in the currency division, where the accounts are kept of all paper of this character used for Treasury purposes. The accounts of this office relating to paper embrace every variety used in printing Government securities, and reach every distinct class of issues by denomination; so that any information relating to paper or printed money can be obtained by reference to the records. This system serves as a check also upon the manufacturer, the superintendent, the express companies as forwarders, the bank-note companies in New York and Washington, Carpenter & Co., Philadelphia, and the Bureau of Engraving and Printing in the Treasury, so far as paper and printing are concerned; and in the matter of paper after it is printed—when it becomes money—it forms a check upon the United States Treasurer, Register of the Treasury, and Commissioner of Internal Revenue. The accounts take each sheet of the paper as soon as it is manufactured, follows it through the various offices and processes of printing to its issue as money, and also, after redemption from circulation, to its final destruction by the Secretary of the Treasury. The success with which these accounts have been kept is evident from the fact that, while the printing and deliveries of money have run into the billions, it has been done without the loss of a cent to the Government by fraudulent issues or otherwise.

ADDITIONAL PRECAUTION AGAINST FRAUD.

The printing is principally done in the Treasury, but a portion of the work on each note is done outside. This is to avoid the possibility of fraud by combination, which might be possible if all the work was performed in one building or by one company or establishment. In the printing bureau of the Treasury the checks adopted against the possibility of fraud are also of the most elaborate.

orate kind, and apparently they are amply sufficient to prevent either mistake or loss.

After the securities receive the finishing touch in the printing bureau they are delivered to the Treasurer if money, to the Register if bonds, and to the Commissioner of Internal Revenue if stamps. Sheets spoiled in printing or otherwise imperfect are delivered to the division of currency of the Secretary's office. This completes the work, and the money, bonds, and stamps are then placed in the vaults of the various offices designated for issue when needed, except the spoiled imprints, which are counted and destroyed by a committee appointed for that purpose.

THE ISSUE AND REDEMPTION OF PAPER MONEY.

When a remittance of mutilated money is received by the Treasurer the package is delivered to experienced counters in his office who examine and count the contents, throwing out counterfeits when found. These counters are ladies, whose quick perceptions and nimble fingers are found to be much better suited to the work than those of men. The counters are held responsible for the detection of counterfeits and for losses while in their hands. They account each day for the amounts they receive. If they pass a counterfeit they are compelled to pay the amount, as the issue of new money is made upon their report.

After this count each note is cut in two through the center, put up in duplicate packages of perhaps \$4,000, and cancelled by the punching of holes in each stack of half notes. These are then delivered, one half to the Register and the other end or half to the Secretary's office—the upper or left half of each greenback, and the right halves of fractional currency going to the Register, while the opposite ends are sent to the Secretary. Each note is then examined and counted in these two offices, making three counts in all, and if errors are found the Treasurer's office rectifies them. After this the duplicate lots are delivered to a committee of four, one representing the Secretary, the second the Register, a third the Treasurer, and the fourth the people generally. When internal revenue stamps are to be destroyed another agent is added for that office. A schedule

of the lots prepared to be destroyed is delivered to this committee, who check off each lot as it is thrown into a large boiler which, when filled, is sealed up, and the chemicals previously thrown in acted upon by a flow of steam and water, produces decomposition and reduces the paper to a pulp. It is, however, allowed to remain in this state forty-eight hours, when the seal is broken, the pulp examined, and certificates of destruction are signed by the committee. These certificates are sent to the Treasurer, Register, Comptroller, and Secretary, and form the vouchers of these officers in the settlement of their accounts.

The printing, issue, and redemption of internal revenue stamps, bonds, and national bank notes are carried on with very little variation, as herein indicated. Nothing has been left undone that was deemed necessary to render the obligations of the Government of every form as safe to the people as it is possible to render them; and on reflection it will be admitted that the checks and guards are so numerous, and so well arranged, that it is almost impossible that any "irregularity" can occur without immediate detection.

THE "FIRST" VOTE.—Some half a million young Republicans have arrived at the age of manhood since the last Presidential election, and will cast their first Presidential vote in November next. Mr. Hayes will have the entire lot. He is "young in years and younger in spirit," and the magnetism of youth will attract to him the full first vote. With the vote will come the youthful enthusiasm of each, with the will to work for victory.

OUR CANDIDATES.—The foremost of the candidates is a man of plain, unobtrusive manners, unimpeachable honesty, keen intelligence, and robust common sense. The second place on the ticket has been given to one whose ability as a legislator and whose influence as a clear-headed, far-seeing statesman are worthy of the noblest era of our history and the highest standards of our public life. The Convention has given the Republican party a ticket and a platform on which it can and must win.

If the ex-Confederates of the Southern States imagine that they are to divert the issues of the coming campaign for the Presidency, and so hide the monstrous injustice perpetrated against Republicans within their borders, they are greatly mistaken. The political condition of the South must be made known to the entire people of the United States, that they may see what has been the result of the rebellion and its settlement by a costly war. Democratic intolerance can no longer be a hidden cancer on the body politic, spreading to the destruction of Republicanism, to the prevention of peace, to the elimination of the principles of freedom from the constitutions of the Southern States.

When the war was over the Republican party desired to reconstruct the South on a basis in accord with the new condition of society and its political welfare. At first the rebel Democracy held sullenly aloof, and would do nothing to aid the cause. But while abstinence from interference was an open pretense, it was soon discovered that the rebel element had been industriously at work founding Ku-Klux Klans, White Leagues, and the White Man's party, every member of which was a rebel, oath-bound to intimidate or murder Republicans. It will not be enough to show how far the South has receded from progress under the blighting, blasting influence of Democratic rule. It will not be enough even to exhibit a nominally free South, with freedom guaranteed by the Constitution of the Union, but practically a South with serfdom prevailing and all the legislation necessary to deprive the colored citizens of the benefits of education and the right to labor where and for whom they please. The disloyal men responsible for this condition of affairs must be pointed out and held up to the bar of public opinion. Instead of the ignominious sight of rebels who had escaped the halter through amnesty arraigning the nation in Congress for the acts of the Republican party in saving the Union which amnesty rebels had sought to destroy, the ignominy must be made to rest on the heads of rebels and other Democrats who have taken part in that arraignment,

that their character may be known and passed upon by the people.

The Southern Democracy have combined together for the purpose of "keeping down" the colored citizens, while in all other parts of the country discrimination on account of color has long since passed away. If the settlement of the question of the South is delayed it will become graver and more complicated. Rebels are in Congress, and some of them had been members of the rebel Congress. How they got into the Congress of the Union must be made known. A true history of what was done to secure the appearance of their election would be startling reading. Wives and children of colored citizens, terrified by the appearance at midnight of White Leaguers, masked but well-known, demanding and taking away the husband and father to mutilate with cruel whippings or shoot in the woods; Republicans intimidated and ordered to leave; and this is in the year of the Lord 1875, the year before the Centennial, and continued since.

A contemporary says:—

"The unhappy Republicans of the South are doubtless watching with great interest the political horizon. They have proved steadfast to the principles of the Republican party, often sacrificing their lives by hundreds, and have longed for the coming of a brighter day, when they will feel secure in their lives and property."

That this language should be true of any class of our citizens at this day is a scandal and a shame. That the victims live under the glorious old flag with the stars and stripes, of which we are so proud that we cannot help boasting of it, is an anomaly and an outrage that needs explanation. But when we say that there exists in the South "an organized hypocrisy," composed of rebel Confederate Democrats who have their representatives in Washington, claiming to legislate on behalf of the Nation, and who thrive on their disloyalty, everything is explained—from the intimidation and murder of white and black Republicans down to the presence of the men unpunished in halls of the National Legislature.

Let the South take warning in time. Republicans, be true to your principles; but

above all things combine and hold together. By voting rightly and certainly—not one ballot left uncast, and watching against fraud and injustice to make it known—the power of the Democratic ex-Confederacy in the South will be broken and a Congress

of loyal American citizens be sent with Rutherford B. Hayes as President and William A. Wheeler as Vice President, fit and proper men to represent the great Republican party in the country and to the world at large.

EDUCATION IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

In addition to the distinctive principles which characterize the two great parties, there are certain acts and hopes which it seems natural to expect from each, but which in reality widen the gulf between them. For instance, no one would expect to find in the rank and file of the Democrats a love of education; such a refined sense of political honor as would lead them to set their faces, like a flint, against repeating at the polls; and such a reverence for the Constitution of their country as to grant to all freemen the right of suffrage it guarantees and of equality before the law. Yet the principles of the Republican party have left their beneficent mark on the age so indelibly that a Republican, from the very nature of his political profession, is looked upon as a promoter of education; as a protector of the ballot; as an advocate of the exercise of all the rights which citizenship bestows. Indeed, it is a matter of some question whether a majority of Democrats, native-born or naturalized, know the quality and effect of the latest amendments to the Constitution; for if they had ever considered them in a fair and manly way they would not be arrayed on that side whose interest in politics seems to extend no further than to obtain all the advantages possible without inquiring too deeply as to how they were secured, while denying the claims of others.

The Republican party considers the safety of the Republic to rest upon the free education of its citizens. That is, an education that shall store the mind with that information which shall be useful in man and womanhood; and in awakening the heart and implanting those great moral truths which bear fruit in a life of reverence for the Deity; of integrity in thought and deed, in all intercourse between man and man; and which directs the affection to love of justice and

mercy, as opposed to wrong-doing, and love of country second only to love to God. This is the education that the Republican party has provided that the State should give; and it shuts off the policy of the Romish hierarchy, which aims at sectarian instruction at the public cost, and makes the Papal church and the Papacy paramount to the duty of the citizen to the State; and would subordinate the State and the nation to the control of the church.

The principles of the Republican party utterly reject this kind of sectarian instruction and Republicans hold it as exceedingly pernicious. American citizenship is a proud heritage; and it is prouder still when combined with intelligence and culture, as Republicans will have it. In no other country in the world, since the Republican party came into power, has the subject of education received such attention. In cities and towns the schoolhouse keeps pace with population; and as the people spread themselves over new territory, even in the remotest, the schoolhouse is one of the first buildings erected. In the Southern States ample provision was made for the education of whites and of freedmen and their families. Where Republican ascendancy has been maintained there the blacks are intelligent and thriving; but even then the South burned schoolhouses, and when the Democrats there dispossessed the Republican friends of education the school fund was misappropriated, or appropriated insufficiently, and the schoolhouses were deserted.

What Republicans have done in every other locality they are willing and anxious to do in the South. The Southern Democracy were never known to favor any extensive scheme of popular instruction—as witness the poor whites and the slaves. And they are less likely to do it now. Unless

Republicans undertake the work in the South it will remain undone, and there will grow up a dangerous class for which the Democracy must be held responsible. The Republican party conferred freedom on the slaves who were loyal, when their masters were fighting against the Union; and Republicans were prepared to educate them. The blacks made wonderful advances while the opportunity was given them. But the Democratic party saw that if they were educated it could not control them; and Southern Democrats resorted to intimidation or worse to prevent the colored people being taught. The success resulting from these outrages led to their application to the black voters intending to exercise the right of the fran-

chise, and as the votes of the black men were needed to count, the Democracy either cast the black men's ballots for their friends, or counted in Democratic candidates without the trouble of being voted for.

On the success of the Republican party in November next depends the doing away of this injustice, and the stopping of these murderous deeds. If the strong arm of the Government can reach across the seas to protect an American citizen, Republican statesmen will devise means to protect the citizens of the Republic within its own borders, that the advantages of education and the rights of the franchise may be secured for every citizen in the land, however humble or obscure.

GENERAL HAYES ON THE CURRENCY QUESTION.

In the Ohio campaign of 1875, General Hayes took a decided stand in favor of hard money and an early return to specie payments. The contest was mainly on that issue. The Democratic candidates, Mr. Allen, for Governor, and General Cary, for Lieutenant Governor, opposed the Republican policy of hard money. Governor Allen claimed that the greenback was not only a bond or note of promise to pay money, but that it was money itself "to pay all debts, including United States bonds." General Cary savagely attacked the bondholders and wealthier classes, and appealed to the passions of the ignorant in speeches calculated to deceive and prejudice the popular mind against the Republican policy of specie resumption. Senator Sherman, General Woodford, of New York, Carl Schurz, and General Hayes warned the country against the evils of a fluctuating paper currency. Hayes spoke nearly every evening during the canvass, and his voice was persistently in favor of hard money. A reporter writing from Ohio to the *New York Times* said: "Hayes meets the money question squarely everywhere. On this subject no man in the canvass has been more positive, more manly, or more firm." The result was a victory for Hayes, who was elected Governor by a handsome majority over Allen, the Democratic candidate. The

inflation and repudiation movement was struck a blow from which, says the *New York Times*, it never recovered. The victory for sound money in Ohio defeated the inflationists in Pennsylvania, and has so far prevented the Democratic House of Representatives from repudiating the pledge of 1875. Had the contest been other than what General Hayes and the other advocates of hard money made it innumerable ills might have come upon the country. At best the uncompromising advocates of honest money have had a long, hard task in holding the country to its successive small advances toward resumption. To that inestimably important end General Hayes contributed as much as any one man in the country.

NO APOLOGIES TO MAKE.—Personally the Republican nominees have nothing to extenuate or explain, and their public life has been identified neither with the men who have betrayed the trust which the party confided to them, nor with the scandals which have marked the recent history of all sections of American politics. Neither of them has excited violent animosities, and both of them have done such service to the Union and to their party as will secure for them the warmest support of Republicans of all shades of opinion.

THE IDEAL AND THE REAL—DEMOCRATIC STAGNATION.

The world moves, and the evidence of its progress is everywhere before us. This idea seems to have been prevalent in the minds of some of the gentlemen who recently attended the meeting of the trustees of Hampden-Sidney College, Va., for the purpose of conferring degrees. After the degrees had been conferred and the delivery of the speeches by the graduates, a Centennial address was spoken by Dr. Hoge. He said :

"You behold the traces of the mother mellowed by time. The years between youth and manhood vanish to-day. Anticipation and realization meet together. As the evening becomes the morning star memory becomes hope, and the glory of the past is the dawn of brighter glory."

This is a pretty thought, prettily expressed; but its meaning is that progress is continuous; that the achievements of the present will soon become those of the past; and that using all moral and material advancement as the stepping-stone for exertion, we reach forward to higher aims and nobler achievements in what lies beyond us in future. There is indeed a golden chain which connects the PAST with the PRESENT; and the brighter glory which labor has yet to develop, for the welfare and elevation of man in the FUTURE, will nevertheless be bound together by the same golden links, that the full fruition of what has been bestowed in time may be secured and preserved.

There is truth in this ideal view of man, and what concerns him. It is of interest to the student, the graduate, and to the men fighting the battles of the world and beating down all opposition. But if it is true when applied to ethics, is it possible that it could be untrue when applied to politics; to the science of Government; to man as a citizen, responsible for the formation of correct political opinions or the acceptance of correct political principles; and of the performance of his duty to the State and to his fellow men?

This question appears to have been answered by Senator Stevenson, of Kentucky, in his oration before the Society of the Alumni. It was an able and feeling appeal to the young men present, in which Mr.

Stevenson reviewed the scenes in the institution where he was a student forty-seven years ago. He called upon his audience to consider the living present, and said :

"American independence and Hampden-Sidney College had been born the same year. Twins at their birth, they had been allies in life for the freedom and salvation of man. The question as to each is whether from this time we shall advance or decline. We are cowards if we do not boldly look the future in the face. The Constitution purchased by the red blood of our fathers is to be preserved. We must pass away. To you younger men is committed the trust which patriotism and liberty impose. Dead empires show the certain decay of that prosperity which is only material. I come to depress nobody. All dangers increase responsibility. Is there not a cloud? Is nothing different from what it was in the days of our fathers?"

It is true that the generation passing away will be succeeded by the generation of young men, whose right training, whether in college, school, or home, is of unspeakable importance. But there is the same sad inconsistency in the address of Senator Stevenson which marks the leaders of the Democratic party in the South and in the North. If he and other Democrats are to be held before the youth of to-day as examples for imitation, there is indeed danger to the future of the country. "The Constitution purchased by the red blood of our fathers is to be preserved." Did the Senator hold this view when he entered the Confederacy with the avowed intention to destroy the Constitution? Could the fathers ever have imagined the outbreak of the rebellion in the South, and the consequent war for the purpose of preserving slavery? This is 1876—the Centennial year. The authors of American Independence never imagined a bloody civil strife between the South and the rest of the Union, for the great hope of all of them was the preservation of their mighty work. But the authors of the rebellion thought otherwise, and they became responsible for the additional bloodshed which desolated the land, and caused the vast debt to be inflicted upon the people. The authors of the Constitution provided for the growth of the country and for the progress that has ensued. In adapting the

Constitution to various periods amendments were made, and they became operative as parts of that instrument. But when the South took upon itself to trample upon the Constitution of our fathers, which was designed "to form a more perfect Union," and to create another of which the fathers knew nothing, and under which Confederate rebels alleged that they lived for four years, while they fought the war and lost their cause, what meaning is to be attached to Senator Stevenson's questions "Is there not a cloud? Is nothing different from what it was in the days of our fathers?"

There is a difference and a wide one between the days of the fathers and to-day. The freedom and equality of all men before the law is recognized everywhere in the country but in the Democratic States of the South. **THE NORTH PRESERVED THE UNION OF THE FATHERS WHICH THE SOUTH WOULD HAVE DISRUPTED, AND WHAT THE FATHERS MEANT BY FREEDOM THE NORTH HAS PRESERVED ALSO, AND GRANTED TO EVERY AMERICAN CITIZEN.** If the patriotism of the fathers, demonstrated by the Constitution, were referred to and held up for reverence and practice in life, nothing would be more pleasing. This, however, is not the object of the Democratic party. When a Democrat refers to the Constitution of the fathers, he does so to justify slavery; and he wants to see the citizenship of the black man controlled by his late master. Senator Stevenson wants to see the old master-power exercised over an ignorant and obsequious colored population, who, though free, shall yet be under the heel of a slave-loving despot.

Here is the danger over which the cloud hangs. The Southern Democracy refuse to obey the Constitution as it is, and the laws enacted under the authority it gives to Congress. This is sheer, inexcusable injustice; for while white Democrats claim the protection of the law, they will not, if they can prevent it, allow the laws to protect white and black Republicans. Until the laws are obeyed in the South there can be no peace. Senator Stevenson knows this as well as every other thoughtful man. But he prefers to hold his mind in a kind of stagnant political condition, appealing to young men to regard the Constitution of the fathers—the

cloud—and the danger arising from cruel, murderous injustice by Democratic Southerners in the South toward all who differ politically from them, while those same young men know that Mr. Stevenson fought against the Constitution of the fathers in the rebel army, and if they are his admirers, they will stultify themselves as he has done in endeavoring to keep a free South as if still enslaved. The success of the Republican party next November will enable it to complete the reconstruction of the South, and protect without cavil the colored citizen in the exercise of his rights.

THE MAN THAT ALWAYS WINS.—The man who led the desperate charge across the treacherous morass at Winchester lived to overcome in the political arena the Democratic leaders of Ohio, Allen G. Thurman, George H. Pendleton, and Governor Allen. He lived also to become the embodiment of all the principles opposed to the financial sophistries, the ill-concealed dishonesty, and the arrant domagogism of which these leaders were the exponents and the representatives. His election was a triumph of able and cautious leadership, and of the bold and steadfast championship of public faith and conscience against the mischievous intriguers who paltered in a double sense with these essentials of the stability of the State.

AS A SOLDIER AND CIVILIAN.—Governor Hayes was a brave and capable soldier, and has been resolute, faithful, and painstaking as a civil administrator. Ten years ago his name was a tower of strength for the Republicans of Ohio, and successive ordeals of political struggle and administrative responsibility have only increased his hold on the confidence of the people of his native State.

MR. WHEELER'S NAME IN THE SOUTH.—Mr. Wheeler's name will add new strength to the Republican ticket in New York, New England, and Illinois; it will also largely help to secure for the party which nominates him the electoral vote of North Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana—States which many Republicans have conceded to the Democrats.

DEMOCRATIC FALSEHOOD.

General John A. McClernand, of Illinois, received the honor of election as permanent president of the Democratic Convention at St. Louis. On being escorted to the chair he is said to have addressed the convention extemporaneously, which in such a case means that whatever came uppermost in his thoughts was cast indiscriminately into the ears of the solons of Democracy gathered before him, and doubtless stirred them to the depths of the heart. General McClernand said :

" You are the delegates of the Democracy of the whole Union of thirty-seven States, once unnaturally estranged, but now forever united in one indivisible republic. Brethren of one political family, with the same heritage of liberty under equal laws, and heirs of one destiny, shall we preserve and transmit that great heritage? Shall we make that destiny most glorious in the history of free people? "

Had these remarks been made by a person who had been absent since 1861, and only just cast upon our shores to preside at the St. Louis Convention, people might have pitied his ignorance of the political condition of the South, on the ground of his having been misinformed. But General McClernand is an old stager in politics. He had not only been a general in the Union army, but must have been familiar with the cruelty and injustice of Southern Democrats toward white and colored Republicans, going so far as practically to introduce a reign of terror in States under Democratic control. He must know, too, how far from true is the alleged sentiment of brotherhood among the Democracy of the South, when the rights of citizenship are denied to Republicans. If the extemporaneous speech of General McClernand could be relied upon it would appear that the unnatural estrangement of the South produced by the rebellion had all passed away, and nothing but friendship existed; that the people of the South had adapted themselves to the new order of things resulting from emancipation, and that freedom, with equality of all men before the law, was regarded as a cardinal principle.

Is it so in the South? Is liberty recognized? Is public opinion heard in support of individual right, and has the old slave masters' claim of white superiority ceased to be heard in the land?

General McClernand spoke truly when he said: " Far greater than the founders of empires are the preservers of republics."

Who preserved the Union of this Republic when imperiled by rebellion? Who came forth at the cry of the country's danger, and when the South appealed to the arbitrament of the sword met that appeal on the field, and waged the war which was intended to strike down American freedom and found an empire of slavery, until the rebel armies surrendered and the groan of the slave on this continent was changed to the hallelujahs of freedmen? Republican statesmen and soldiers—the brain and conscience and muscle of the Republican party—is the reply! And aiding Republicans were those war Democrats, to their honor, who could not stand by and see their country dismembered. General McClernand was in the Union army and rendered service; but it is more than probable that if he had not entertained Copperhead sentiments his service might have been more effective and his army record more brilliant. Republicans, on the other hand, labored under no such constraint. They had a single eye to the preservation and stability of the Union, and throwing their whole soul into the work the salvation and glory of the country was their great reward. The history of the Republican party is a history of the life of the nation, while a history of the rebellion of the Southern Democracy, in alliance with the leaders of the Democratic party of the North, is a history of the attempt to strike the nation dead!

General McClernand proceeded to say:

" There are no enemies of the Union to-day on this continent except administrative centralization. * * * Centralism and corruption have imposed upon ten States the rapacious tyrannies of carpet-bag rule. They have infected the governments of the Northern States. * * * They have debauched the Federal Government itself and made the

names of scores of its high officers and public men our public scandal and our shame."

This is what General McCleernand said of Republicans! The Republican party inherited the war. The leaders of the Democracy had allowed the preparations for rebellion to mature without taking measures to prevent them. And when the people lost faith in the Democratic party and cast it out of power the Republican party, ever true and loyal to freedom and the Union cause, succeeded the Democracy, and moreover succeeded in saving the Union. If the preservers of this Republic are greater than the founders of empires does not the Republican party deserve the credit for its stupendous efforts in putting down the rebellion? And if the Republican party preserved the Republic can its record be otherwise than good and noble and patriotic? Yet General McCleernand says of its record that it is—

"A record of horrible incapacity, venality, waste, fraud, and the party which had been powerless to break down and trample under foot its corruptionists, with stupendous ef-

frontery pledged itself to a reform of which it has become incapable."

The "stupendous effrontery" is on the side of the Democracy whose record shows its sympathies were with disloyalty. That General McCleernand was able to speak of "the whole Union" was due to the courage, wisdom, and endurance of Republicans. And it seems to be something more than effrontery in General McCleernand to charge the Republican party with fraud and incapacity, when a Confederate House of Representatives has stopped the legislation of the nation through its imbecility and ignorance in the conduct of public affairs, and the Democratic party is consenting to the plot to cripple the public service by the House recklessly refusing to appropriate sufficient money to carry on the business of the Government.

Had the South prevailed in its rebellion, and founded a slave empire, what "heritage of liberty" would the Democracy have preserved and transmitted to us? We should like to hear General McCleernand reply.

WORK AND VOTE.

The other day an article appeared in a Virginia journal alleging that a particular locality in the South was so prolific that labor was superfluous. The land surrounding the city where the paper is published is unquestionably of a superior quality; and the inhabitants of the city number some 25,000 souls. But the city had little evidence of prosperity. Business men complained of heavy taxation and the ruinous State debt. The State debt crushed out the life of trade and commerce. Farmers with good crops needed railway accommodation to dispose of them at remunerative prices; traders had lost heart because they were losing money; and when the stranger looked at the unenterprising character of the people and the absence of that energy which denotes freedom and manhood, he saw at once how deep and extensive was the curse of slavery, as it had made the people dislike labor. This dislike of physical labor had extended to mental labor as applied to scholarship and to politics. A dark political pall seemed

to hang upon the brows of the community. The Republican party had been fraudulently overcome by the Conservatives. Conservatives had come in upon the cry of being the exponents of Democratic doctrine, and claimed respectability for so doing. Voters were caught by this clap-trap appeal. They took their opinions upon trust, and followed their leaders without taking the trouble to inquire. This had been the political and commercial ruin of the place. The people are now calling to Conservatives to re-found the Republican party, by joining with Republicans, white and black, and thus become affiliated with the only men who can give the country prosperity.

Knaves and fools only despise labor. Wise men are industrious from choice; for they know that nothing lasting, nothing valuable can be achieved without it. The Presidential contest in which we are engaged will demand of all the most persistent effort and the most faithful example. Republicans in the South are beginning to discover that in

spite of the grievous wrongs they have endured the future is big with hope if a united and manly effort be made. For instance, it is said that Democrats have for sometime been having things pretty much their own way in Tennessee. A few sturdy Republicans have put their shoulders to the wheel, and invited their friends to do likewise. Hence, they say, it is more than brag to speak of carrying the State for the Republican party, which will insure for it prosperity, and peace, and order. But they are aware that the Democracy cannot be beaten without labor.

A genuine Republican is just the man to pledge his hand and heart to assist, and as the invitation goes from county to county in Tennessee, and the most prominent Republicans come forward to help, the State will be one vast hive of workers

in the Republican cause—the cause of humanity and freedom, which cannot fail. Other States, too, will catch the spirit of vigorous resistance to Democratic oppression and injustice. And when Republicans are awake to the best interests of the Union, and all do their utmost for the common good, the political darkness of the Democratic past, which has pressed upon the people like a nightmare, will give place to sunlight and concord of States. Then the true principle of brotherhood will be developed in reality, because it will be based upon the divine principle which the Republican party recognizes and advocates, viz: to do to others as we would they should do to us, and to grant and defend the rights and equality of all men before the law which the Constitution guarantees and which every Republican claims for himself.

WHAT DEMOCRATS THINK OF HAYES AND WHEELER.

The utter imbecility of the majority of the present House of Representatives has been demonstrated by the chaotic confusion in which the public business is found at the end of the fiscal year. When the rebellion was on the eve of breaking out, Howell Cobb, as Secretary of the Treasury, reported to Congress that 1860 was a most prosperous year; that the harvest had been bountiful and the commerce of the country larger than ever. Having placed on record these facts, which could not be gainsaid, he retired from office and went home to assist his State to secede from the Union. Other prominent Southerners had seats in Congress, and they rose in their places one after another to avow their treason and disappear from association with Northern men. This was the case with Southerners generally, who recrossed Mason and Dixon's line with peculiar fervor, resolving to return and capture Washington, dissolve the Union, and do many more wonderful exploits of the same character, as they whipped the mudsills of the North out of their boots and called the roll of slaves at Bunker Hill.

This was the programme of the rebellion; but unfortunately, although the Southern

heart was fired to a white heat, the programme was too extensive to carry out. A war was fought, however, which lasted more than four years, and slavery was the prize; but the history of the Union, which never was dismembered, does not give the victory to the South; and as to slavery, that Southern idol, it perished in the light of a purer day.

The Republican party, which conducted the war and which was the party of freedom and union, know that the war has been fought by the number of noble men who sleep the sleep of heroes, having sealed their patriotism with their blood, and by the vast debt incurred in the preservation of the Union which the survivors are pledged to pay. Republicans know and feel this today, and those who live at Bunker Hill have never heard the call of the slave roll yet. But the Democracy are like that famous monarch who never did a wise thing; and the ex-Confederate Democrats profess to have made the discovery that the people who fought the war have become convinced that they were wrong, and, as they were chiefly Republicans and fair-minded, they were disgusted with their record of opposing

the South, and were only too willing to wipe it out and forget it, that the South might forgive them for saving the Union.

With this discovery Confederates came to Congress highly elated. They felt that the North was sorry and desired to forget the war; and consequently the South was ready to forgive, and turn out of office or destroy the reputation of every Republican as a proof of it. The Congressional Democracy, which reached very low down and tickled the diaphragms of the Democratic party, were so convinced of the truth of what the South said of Republicans that, without guile, they joined the ranks of the Congressional Confederates, and both became the standard-bearers of that flag which carries death and dismay to Republicans in the South, white and black, that will not acknowledge and vote for Democratic supremacy. And these standard-bearers have earned the fame of the most blunderheaded of Bourbons, who never learned anything and forgot nothing, so that the problem of their alliance is a little mixed upon the question of their political erudition.

These Democrats and Confederate allies assumed the control of Congress, and very soon showed their utter incapacity for public affairs. They were unable to disconnect themselves from the past. With Republicans alleged to be sorrowing and with arms extended to take Messrs. Lazar and Hill, the loveliest of the rebel brotherhood, to their bosom, Southerners could not interpret the public sentiment, but hoped it would come round all right at last, that they might be friends with the North. So they became devotedly magnanimous. All they wanted was the supreme control of the country they fought to destroy; and such Republicans as were mean enough to dispute their supremacy they would punish by excepting from their affection and would on no account befriend. Off they went upon their journey, as time was precious. They traveled in the old ruts and opposed all Republican legislation, in order to re-establish the political condition of the days when the Democratic party was banished from power because it deserved it. True, the road was rough and the task was difficult. Strangely, the people

did not sanction downright disloyalty uttered in Congress and elsewhere. Nor did the Confederates in the South receive public approbation for their denial of the rights of citizenship to Republicans. Indeed, the nation complained of the vulgar and stupid trick of rebels asking restoration because they were such, and attempting to demonstrate that the Republican party was wrong in saving the Union, and should make way for the Democratic party, in which the rebels found shelter, as it and they only had been loyal to the Constitution.

This was hard work, but every Confederate had an inward conviction that the days of the Republican party were numbered; that it was born to die; that the only imperishable thing under the sun which the people loved and longed to behold was a full return to the glory of Democratic ascendancy, when a Democratic President would grace the White House; a Democratic Administration put back the hands of time, and a Democratic majority be found in the House and the Senate. Then would the country shine forth in its prosperity. Republican statesmen and soldiers should take back seats and witness the undoing of the work of the last sixteen years. Soft money would be plentiful and taxation light. The public debt would be repudiated and the Southern war debt paid, together with the slave-owners of the South for the slaves emancipated. The South would rise in its majesty. The Slave Power, defiant in its grandeur, with none to make it afraid or curb it, would deal with the "niggers" reduced to slavery hopeless and eternal. In a word, all the blessings, moral, political, and social, that culminated in 1860 would be transplanted to the Centennial year 1876; the progress of the country would be stopped; and the fires of discontent rekindled in the land, and be ready to burst forth with increasing volume and with a hundred-fold the desolating power of the war.

Such was the dream of the Confederate—of the Democratic party. Its leaders talked wildly of corruption, of the rottenness of the Republican party, of its weakness, of the indifference of its best men, and of the necessity of a Democratic-Confederate succession.

The star of Democracy stood over the White House, and thither all wise men would proceed. Alas! the day came for the meeting of the nominating convention at Cincinnati. The Republican delegates were expected to nominate for the offices of President and Vice President the men who were to kill the Republican party and make room for the nomination of the standard-bearers of the Democracy, who would fascinate the country. But Hayes and Wheeler were nominated; and, while the sturdiest rebels began to quake, there was a sense of general discomfiture throughout the Democratic camp. This is shown by those quiet little communications which Democrats were heard to make to one another.

The nomination of Hayes was so unexpected that it sorely perplexed them. Had Blaine or Conkling or Bristow or Morton been the man they would have known the opponent they would have had to deal with, but Hayes had disconcerted them, as they frankly and openly admit.

"He is a first-class fellow," said Sunset Cox, recalling his acquaintance with him in Congress.

"I dread Hayes' nomination more than that of anybody else," said Ben Hill, of Georgia.

"It's a respectable ticket," said another well-known Democrat.

"Well, it has knocked us all to pieces," said one of the officials of the House. "We'll have to take Tilden now to carry New York, and if we take Tilden the West will bolt and nominate a soft-money ticket." Another Democrat said: "We have got to keep our eyes wide open at St. Louis. We've got to nominate the best kind of a man, and we've got to put him on the right kind of a platform."

Shortly after Mr. Hill had expressed his dread of Hayes' nomination he became still more communicative to his friends, though his spirits did not rise. He seemed to become more dejected the more he thought of the situation; and, with almost streaming eyes, he at last threw his soul into his words, as he uttered in a tone of disgust—

"By G—d, they've got us again!"

This little historic record is worth preserving for the events which are to follow.

Since these remarks were uttered the nomination of Tilden has been made at St. Louis. Republicans may now go to work and make the fears of the Democrats true by securing a Republican victory.

GENERAL HAYES IN MILITARY AND CIVIL LIFE.—Of his military character, one who served with him in nearly all of his campaigns has written as follows:

"As an officer he was noted not only for strict loyalty to his superiors, but for gallantry in battle and alacrity in the discharge of every duty, however perilous or arduous. The first suggestion of his nomination for Governor was strongly disfavored by the General, who put a quietus upon the movement in that direction as soon as heard of it. He generally preferred to remain in the military service as long as the rebellion lasted, and no political promotion was any temptation for him to leave it while the triumph of the national arms was incomplete. During the war he was nominated for Congress by the Republicans of the Second District, and directly afterward received a letter importuning him to return home and make the canvass. General Hayes replied to this letter as follows:

IN CAMP, October 2.

Yours of the 29th ult. is received. Thanks. I have other business just now. Any man who would leave the Army at this time to electioneer for Congress ought to be scalped.

Truly yours, R. B. HAYES.

Notwithstanding this refusal to leave the field to co-operate with his friends in securing his political preferment, he was handsomely elected, defeating Joseph C. Butler, the Democratic candidate by a majority of 2,455.

In 1868 he was re-elected, his competitor being Theodore Cook, and his majority over that gentleman was 2,556. In Congress his industry, sound judgment, and fidelity to the interests of his constituents were conspicuous, and gave him a position of great prominence and influence with his fellow-members. Though not apparently ambitious of oratorical display, and seldom occupying the time of the House with even a short speech, his unobtrusive and thoroughly efficient discharge of his duty won for him not only respect but reputation, and he was regarded both in Washington and in Ohio as one of the ablest and best members on the floor. He took a deep interest in all the great and agitating questions then before Congress, including those relating to the reorganization of the lately revolted States, and acted uniformly in accord with the Republican line of policy in reference to the measures.

OFFICIAL INTEGRITY.

The cry of official corruption has been the peculiar hobby of the Democratic party since it was driven from power by an indignant people whose confidence it had betrayed. From time to time wholesale charges of official corruption have been made against the Republican party and its administration of affairs. There has been nothing definite in these charges, but they have been uttered so persistently that many, ignorant of the true facts, have been willing to believe them. In order to give an air of authority to these Democratic falsehoods a Democratic Senator called for a statement of the official defalcations as they appeared upon the books of the Treasury. The Senator wanted only those which had occurred since the Republican party came into power, but the resolution was so amended as to call for those under previous Administrations also, running back to 1834. As many of the balances found due the United States were more technical than real, and if classed among criminal defalcations would work injury to some of the best men of the nation, living and dead, the Senate declined to print them, to which no objections were offered. The justice of this course will be apparent to all when it is stated that such names as Washington Irving appear in the list owing the United States sums ranging from one cent to ten dollars. Riggs and Corcoran, Baring Brothers, even the English Government, were down for small amounts. In lieu, therefore, of the complete list, a summary of the well known defalcations will be published, and from this the country can judge how unjust have been the charges raised against the Republican party.

The remarks of Senator Anthony on the subject give valuable information, which, in these times of political defamation, may be of service to Democracy. He said :

"The aggregate statement of the disbursements of the Treasury under the list is a paper exceedingly creditable to the American Government. I do not mean to any particular party, but to the financial history of the United States. There have been disbursed since 1834—I can hardly read such big figures—\$13,936,870,072.05, of which is

marked upon these books \$22,266,000, being about half a million of dollars a year, and a great part of this is nominal, not real.

"The losses on the \$1,000 of disbursements were, in the administration of Jackson, \$10.55; Van Buren, \$21.15; Harrison, \$10.37; Polk, \$8.34; Taylor and Fillmore, \$7.54; Pierce, \$5.86; Buchanan, nearly \$6.98; Lincoln, \$1.41; Johnson, 48 cents; Grant, the first four years, 40 cents; the second four years, 26 cents—showing a constant decline, which is owing in a large degree to the improved manner of keeping the accounts; and that is due very largely to the Committees on Finance and Appropriations, who have introduced legislation here which has compelled much greater accuracy and responsibility. The average percentage of losses during this whole period on the disbursements is \$1.59 on the thousand. I do not believe that the aggregate of any class of corporate or private business, banking, commercial, or any other kind, can show so small a percentage of loss as this, and it is gratifying that the percentage of loss is continually decreasing, coming down from \$21.55 in the administration of Van Buren to an average of twenty-three cents on the thousand dollars, or only about one-sixtieth as much under the present Administration. This is exclusive of the Post Office, which administers its own revenue. In the Post Office the loss has gone down from \$11.18 on the \$1,000 in Jackson's administration, and \$26.19 in Van Buren's, to \$1.59 for the first term of Grant and \$1.01 for the second, with an average of \$3.51 for the whole period. I move that this statement, which I think is creditable to the Government and to all parties, be printed; and that the adverse report of the Committee on Printing on the rest of the document lie over until the return of the Senator from West Virginia."

Here we have the results of an official investigation, called for by a Democratic Senator. From the figures given it will be seen that no Republican need blush for shame over the official integrity of his party. On the contrary, he has reasons to be proud over a record that has had no equal since the formation of the Government.

THE QUESTION.—Shall the Government be funded in time of peace by men who tried to destroy it in time of war? This is the question to be settled in the Presidential canvass. All other issues are side ones, and amount to nothing compared with this one important question.

A REMARKABLE CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION.

The celebration of the Fourth, which took place in the town of Virgil, Cortland county, N. Y., was in all probability the most remarkable that occurred in any section of the country on that day. It was remarkable, not from the manner of conducting the festivities which followed the programme usual on such occasions, but from the fact that the four principal actors of the day had not only been present but had actually assumed the same character on the same ground *fifty years ago*. They were the chief marshal, Colonel Wm. Squires; the chaplain, Deacon Nathan Bouton; the reader of the Declaration of Independence, Doctor F. Hyde; and the orator of the day, Colonel M. Frank.

The latter gentleman has for a number of years been a resident of Washington, having been called here to assume a position under Senator Boutwell, then Secretary of the Treasury. Colonel Frank is a thorough going, life-long Republican, and was for many years one of the leading members of that party in the State of Wisconsin, where he resided up to the time of his coming to Washington.

A copy of the Cortland *Standard and Journal*, of the 11th instant, has been received containing a full report of the oration, a perusal of which shows that notwithstanding his years the Colonel still retains his mental faculties vigorous and unimpaired. It is a polished and masterly production, as the following extracts of general interest will show:

A half century ago to day I attempted to describe the progress that had been made during the preceding fifty years. I dwelt with enthusiasm on the advancement of our country in the direction of national greatness; the diffusion of education among the people; the rapid development of our agricultural resources; our progress in the arts, and in labor-saving machinery. A collection of agricultural implements, machinery, and household articles common fifty years ago would make an interesting exhibition for this centennial year. Improvements which were then regarded as triumphs of genius and skill have since passed into comparative insignificance. Among the new implements of husbandry then being introduced was the grain cradle, which rendered nearly obsolete the old classic sickle. The threshing-flail was the same in kind as employed

by the Romans two thousand years ago. The only instrument for mowing was the common seythe, which had undergone no material changes during many generations. Fifty years ago the popular thoroughfares between city and country were the turn-pikes. A drive on these privileged roads was deemed one of the luxuries of travel, except the exacting toll-gates sometimes ruffled the temper of pleasure riders.

During this period the New York and Erie canal, connecting the waters of the western lakes with the Hudson river, was regarded the wonder of the age—the greatest internal improvement achievement in America. This State enterprise was for a number of years the principle travel-route between the East and the almost impenetrable West. The packet boat, moving four miles per hour, was as much the admiration of the then traveling public as the modern palace car, with a speed of forty miles per hour.

On our half century anniversary a compliment was paid to American genius and skill as having well nigh reached the limit of art, invention, and improvement, leaving only to the succeeding half century the finishing of what had already been outlined. But how finite is the human mind to unfold the future. Then we had not in all this land one foot of railroad, not a locomotive, nor a telegraph line. Since then a new era has dawned on every department of industry. The necessity for hand labor has been reduced five hundred per cent, by the introduction of machinery, while at the same time the conveniences, the comforts, and luxuries of life have been greatly multiplied. Science has brought into action many hitherto undiscovered forces; man now stands leisurely by and directs the machinery that performs the labor drudgery before required of human hands.

Had any one predicted fifty years ago that before this centennial year journeyings on land would be performed at the rate of sixty miles per hour, and that words would be conveyed to distant States with almost the rapidity of thought, such prediction would have been treated as coming from a disordered mind, and unworthy of notice. So of many other discoveries and inventions, the products of our day, the suggestion of their coming realization would have been deemed visionary.

In the progress of the world's improvements the United States have contributed a large share. The telegraph, by the aid of which news is transmitted on land and beyond the seas with the speed of electricity is the invention of an American. Steam as a propelling power in navigation is Ameri-

can. The cotton gin, without which the manufacture of cotton goods would necessarily be limited, or produced at much cost, is the product of American skill. The reaper and the mower, now indispensable to successful farming, are American. The sewing machine, a necessity in every household, is American. The rotary printing press, by which the newspaper is worked off with marvelous rapidity, to be scattered over the country as plentiful as autumn leaves is American. The planing mill and the grain elevator are American. The manufacture of ice, producing it under a tropical sun, is the product of American mind. A vast number of other improvements and inventions in manufactures and machinery, of but little less importance, are of American origin, mostly within the past fifty years.

Our progress, too, in governmental science, has been in correspondence with the advance of education and the growth of liberal ideas. Old limitations to political rights have been extended, and the people invested more fully with the privilege of self government. Laws incompatible with the genius of our free institutions have been abolished, and new ones enacted, more in consistency with the welfare of the people.

At this point the inquiry naturally arises, will a like progress mark the coming half century, as during the past? Discoveries and improvements are with rare exceptions the result of educated mind. If the education of the people continues to go increasingly, it is reasonable to expect progress in art and invention during the next fifty years as in the past. Science in its investigations is limitless in material things. It searches through the arena of nature, and brings into activity elements of power that have lain dormant through all the centuries of the past. It goes to the ocean depths; it scans the empyrean of the heavens, and pushes inquiry among the stars.

Although the unfoldings of the past may seem to have exhausted the power of man for further achievement, still there is a boundless field yet to be explored. Among the possibilities that may be reached at no distant period a few are suggested: Motive power, more simple and convenient than steam for driving machinery, and adapted to plowing on the farm; agencies for generating heat, which shall relieve the poor from the burdensome expenses of wood and coal; new facilities for safe travel, transcending the speed of railway locomotives; cheap light, surpassing a hundred street lamps; simple means for fertilizing the soil, increasing its productiveness an hundred fold; new and inexpensive building material, supplying the deficiency of our decreasing lumber forests; an enlarged sphere of activity and em-

ployment for women, which shall command respect and be consistent with female delicacy and refinement, thus making available a large industrial element now contributing but little to the general stock of wealth; an extension of her legal rights, giving her a voice in matters involving the taxation of her property; in the management of the public schools, in which her children are educated, and in the protection of her family from licensed demoralization; also a better understanding of the laws of health, leading to an avoidance of much sickness and suffering, and increasing the average longevity of human life; the discovery of effective remedies for the treatment of diseases now deemed incurable; more economical methods of living; cheapening expenses without abridging family luxuries, or interfering with the enjoyments, the culture, and the refinement of society.

If it be said, these suggested possibilities of the ensuing half century are chiefly chimerical, it may be answered, the same might have been said with equal force fifty years ago to-day, in respect to the discoveries, inventions, and improvements since then realized.

In the direction of civil progress the field is broad and capable of improvement: Laws for the government of the people, adapted to a higher condition of civilization and refinement, which no statesmanship has ever yet devised; the reorganization of law courts, making them tribunals of equity; abolishing useless forms and technicalities; setting aside the rigorous rulings of law and evidence to the end that the adjustment of differences between parties shall not be mere trials of professional skill as men play games at chess.

In the direction of moral and religious advancement, less adherence to denominational lines between those who hold in unity the essentials of the Christian faith; talent, time, and money expended for higher purposes than building up fragmentary religious sects and parties; more of right action; less of theologic theory; more of God, less of creed. Methods for the moral training of the young, which shall better fit coming generations for the true mission of life. Although all truth is eternal, without beginning and without end, still there is undeveloped truth yet to be applied to the education of children and youth which shall change the moral structure of society. If this be not so—if there be agencies yet unemployed, then this world will never be prepared for the promised millennial era. "All the space between man's mind and God's mind is filled with truth." What a vast domain yet to be occupied? What heights of moral grandeur yet to be reached? Is man

always to occupy so low a scale in the order of being? Are there no undeveloped possibilities yet to be brought into action which shall give the world the semblance of a new creation? Man was creat'd "a little lower than the angels;" can it be that angels are but little remove above the average man as now developed?

* * * * *

Legislators of the present day have a weighty responsibility; demands are made to remove some of the landmarks that guided our forefathers through the perils of our early history, and which have been recognized through later times. By the blessing of heaven we have grown from infancy to vigorous manhood. And now, since we have become a great nation, strong in national resources and defenses, men who have outgrown the moral teachings of the past assume we can stand alone, and have no further need to acknowledge the Divine Being in the way our fathers were accustomed to do. They would have our civil institutions divorced from the higher law, and they ask there shall be no recognition of God in governments, State or National. And now comes the request for the removal of the Bible from the public schools, where it has had an undisturbed place a hundred years. Every enlightened Christian nation on the globe acknowledges the Bible as its moral and religious standard. Then why exclude a book universally accepted by the Christian world from the schools of the land, where its influence is needed to shape the character of those to whom the destinies of this great commonwealth are to be committed? The law of the State very properly prohibits and confiscates immoral publications, but why single out the Bible and put it on the list of expurgated books? Of what has the Bible been guilty that there should come the demand at this late day to bar the doors of education against its admission? The Bible by the common respect of mankind, and by the right of long possession, is entitled to retain its place in the schools, to be read without note or comment, and allowed to be its own interpreter.

* * * * *

When we commemorated the fiftieth anniversary of our National Independence one-half of the States of this Union were slave and half nominally free. We were reproached by the enlightened nations of Europe with being false to our professions of freedom and of equal rights. The Declaration of Independence proclaimed to the world the inalienable right of all men to liberty; but this right was denied to the weak and defenseless. The Constitution guaranteed freedom of speech and liberty of the press; but these rights were refused to the people of

the South by statutory enactments, and to the North by a despotic public opinion. The pulpit and the press in the nominally free States dared give no utterances as to the wrong of chattel slavery. Proscription and sometimes personal violence were visited upon those who publicly expressed their convictions of the wickedness of selling men and women like cattle in the market.

The people of the Northern States were compelled to do the bidding of the South. A law of Congress made it an offense, punishable with fine and imprisonment, to obey the precepts of the Divine Law. To feed, clothe, and give a cup of cold water to a thirsty, famishing human being, guilty of no crime but that of loving liberty better than bondage, was held to be a misdemeanor. Whenever property claimed in a human being escaped to a free State, the free-State citizen was required to pursue the fleeing chattel, and aid in returning it to the alleged owner. The highest judicial officer, the Chief Justice of the United States, uttered the declaration, "the negro has no rights which white men are bound to respect."

But this unnatural condition of human affairs could not always last. After long and weary years the cry of crushed humanity reached the throne of Eternal Justice; the day of deliverance came, but not in the way man's wisdom had devised. By the blow of one man the shackles of the enslaved were broken, and more than three millions of people were invested with the rights to which they were entitled by God and nature. The name of Abraham will be honored while time endures.

A REVERSIBLE TICKET.—Here we have a platform for the millions! Hard money or soft money; greenbacks or gold; resumption and anti-resumption; free schools as you like them; the whole world invited to our shores, and good-will expressed for everybody, except the Chinese. All in one platform, and that Democratic. Tilden the head and Hendricks the tail, the only reversible ticket that has been put in the field. Both ends are calculated to suit any and all tastes. Anything to beat the Republican party! If this reversible ticket fails, then, indeed, the star of Democracy goes down forever.

QUERY.—If Democracy has added sixty millions of dollars to the debt of New York city in ten years, how long would it take it to reduce the public debt \$600,000,000? As the Republican party has exceeded this sum in less than ten years, reform Democracy ought to do even better. Could it?

THE WORK OF THE FORTY-FOURTH CONGRESS.

A BROKEN MONTH.

To-day (July 14, 1876) the work of Congress lingers as it has done in the past. Events occurring in rapid succession both in and out of Congress have served to distract the attention and delay the action of the law-makers of the land. The great political conventions at Cincinnati and St. Louis have assembled and done their work, by the adoption of characteristic platforms and the selection of Messrs. Hayes and Wheeler as the Republican and of Messrs. Tilden and Hendricks as the Democratic candidates for the offices of President and Vice President. It is generally conceded that the tickets of both parties are strong, and that the condition of the country is such that an equal contest of great violence and persistency is at hand. These matters, together with the celebration of the centennial anniversary of American independence on the 4th of July, have so absorbed the attention of Congress and the country that many items of legislative business have been deferred, and all the while the dead-lock between the Senate and the House on some of the most important of the appropriation bills remains in all its force; and had it not been for the passage of a joint resolution extending the appropriations of last year for ten days, and then again for ten days, the wheels of the Government must have been wholly stopped.

DEMOCRATIC RETRENCHMENT AND ECONOMY.

So much has been said about the honest reform of the Democratic House, in cutting down expenditures and suppressing the alleged extravagance of past years; such complaint has been made of the Senate for antagonizing the economy of the House, that on July 7 the Hon. Lot M. Morrill, of Maine, chairman of the Senate Committee on Appropriations, and one of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two houses, after having the last report of the committee of conference read to the Senate, made one of the most thorough and scathing expositions of the whole Democratic pretension ever listened to in that body. He showed, first, what the Senate had done with a Re-

publican majority during the last few years to reduce the expenses of the Government, and that the last Congress, which was overwhelmingly Republican in both branches, had cut down these expenses—which had been so largely increased solely through the influence of the late war of the rebellion—to the amount of some thirty millions, and that during the present session the Republican Senate had with the greatest alacrity joined the Democratic House in still further reducing the expenses to the amount of twenty-two millions. He then took up the vaunting pretension of the Democracy that they, by their proposed legislation on the appropriation bills, would save the country thirty-nine or forty millions of dollars in the expenses of the current year over and above those of the last year under a Republican administration. He showed how the Democrats in the House reappropriated the unexpended balances of former appropriations remaining in the Treasury, to the amount of about four millions, which should not be charged against the extravagance of former years, as the estimates were necessarily large for the exigencies of the times. He showed that another five millions were to be accounted for by the abolition of offices which must actually cripple the public service and leave many of the most important interests of the country to suffer for the want of an efficient administration of government. He showed how we should sink in the estimation of foreign nations through our meager provision for the ministry and consulate; how the judiciary would suffer for the want of competent administration; how the army and navy would be well nigh destroyed; how the system of conducting the management of the public lands and buildings and of providing for the postal necessities of the people; and in short how the affairs in every department of the Government would be greatly damaged and impaired. He showed how the reduction of salaries would operate oppressively on those who have done the work of the Government; and how, by the reduction of force, many interests could not be served at all.

And yet, notwithstanding the hue and cry of the Democrats for retrenchment, the whole amount which they proposed to save on the salaries of clerks and other officials did not exceed the sum of one hundred and fifty or two hundred thousand dollars, thus demonstrating that it was not the amount to be saved so much as it was the principle assumed by the House of arrogating the whole legislative power on the subject of the finances of the Government, and of compelling the Senate to acquiesce under the menace of a stoppage of the entire machinery of administration.

He showed how all this was in defiance of the plain, clear laws of the land, and he justly characterized the action of the Democratic majority in the House as revolutionary and unlawful.

From this speech it is evident that the intention of the Democracy is, under color of a sham reform, to coerce the Senate into measures which will greatly injure the public service, and that it is the duty of the Senate to stand firm against such illegal and impudent encroachment. If there were any real honesty in the pretensions of the Democracy why should it not appear in their willingness first of all to reduce their own salaries, which are disproportionately large and far beyond what many of them can possibly earn in any other way? The pretense of retrenchment by oppressive legislation, when the rights and interests of others only are concerned, can go but little way to convince the American people of the sincerity of such reformers; nor can it be disguised that, while in the midst of an exciting political canvass for the control of the whole Federal power of the country, the entire effort of the Democracy in the House has been to wheedle the country by a show of economy and to pursue a system of investigations for the purpose of blackening the character of every prominent Republican, thereby hoping, while rendering Republicans odious to the people, at the same time to ingratiate themselves into popular favor. This is the meaning of all that has transpired in the present Congress since its sessions commenced.

OFFICIAL CHANGES.

In the speech which was delivered by Senator Morrill, as it was his last, so it was his most powerful effort in the Senate of which

he has been so long a distinguished member. A few days before he had been nominated, and instantly and unanimously confirmed, as Secretary of the Treasury, in place of Mr. Bristow, who had resigned. Mr. Morrill, after holding the subject under advisement for some days, concluded to accept, and in the conclusion of his speech, as above noted, took leave of the Senate, and, having been qualified, immediately repaired to the office of the Secretary and assumed its duties. This making a vacancy in the Senate from Maine, Governor Conner, of that State, has appointed the Hon. James G. Blaine his successor until the Legislature shall meet, when he will be undoubtedly chosen. Mr. Blaine, who is still detained from the Capitol on account of the effects of his sudden and severe attack of the brain, having resigned his seat in the House as a Representative of his district from the State of Maine, leaves that a vacancy, while he accepts his appointment to a seat in the Senate.

Since these events Postmaster General Jewell has been requested to resign, and has promptly done so, being succeeded by General Tyner, of Indiana, who has just been confirmed. Meanwhile Treasurer New and Commissioner Pratt have both resigned their places in the Treasury, the former having been succeeded by the Hon. A. U. Wyman, formerly Assistant Treasurer of the United States.

A vacancy in the House has recently occurred by the sudden decease of the Hon. Mr. Parsons, of Kentucky. For this vacancy Mr. Henry Watterson has been put forward by the Democrats, while, it is said, he will be opposed by the ex-Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Bristow.

THE DEBATES.

The several debates which occupy the time of Congress are many of them able and instructive, and all of them interesting as matters of public information. A very powerful debate has occurred on Indian affairs, and especially in connection with the subject of transferring the Indian Bureau to the War Department, which has recently received one of the saddest practical commentaries ever known in the whole history of the country in the slaughter of General Custer and his brave 300 in that narrow ravine, which did

not prove to be and will never have the fame of another pass of Thermopylae. Debates have been held on the Hawaiian treaty, on the state of the currency, on the silver bill, on internal improvements, on the public buildings in charge of the General Government, on the affairs of the District of Columbia, and on many other topics of the deepest interest. Some days since General Hendee, of Vermont, from the Committee on District Affairs, made a most effective speech, in which he set forth the condition of affairs in the District of Columbia under the management of the present commissioners. He showed the partisan character of the investigations and of the reports and speeches of the Democracy, especially that of Judge Buckner, of Missouri. He fully vindicated the commissioners in every particular, and showed how faithfully, wisely, and economically they had managed the affairs of this District, which had been put into their hands at a time of great confusion, distress, and clamor. The speech of Judge Hendee is well worth a perusal for the amount of information in regard to the affairs of the District. It was delivered in the House Saturday, July 1, 1876.

INVESTIGATIONS.

The investigations are dragging their slow length along. Some reports have been made and some yet remain to be prepared. But as a rule they have amounted to very little in giving to the country a fair interior view of the situation. Immense sums have been scrutinized, and at a large ratio of expense of time, money, strength, the derangement of business, and the delay of action, both private and public.

VISITORS TO THE CAPITAL.

During the past month large numbers of strangers, on their way to or from the Centennial Exposition, have thronged the capital and visited the public buildings and other points of interest. Every day witnesses in the halls of Congress a new tide of travelers who have come up from remote regions or from foreign lands to behold the legislative body of the Republic in Congress assembled. This circumstance gives a lively air to everything about the capital.

THE IMPEACHMENT.

The trial of General Belknap, after having been delayed over and over again by the dis-

cussion of preliminary questions, was fairly begun on Thursday, the 6th of July. It has been since daily prosecuted, the managers resting their case on the Fort Sill affair for conviction. At this present writing (Friday, July 14) the defense are examining witnesses to rebut the testimony of the prosecution. The extent of time is uncertain, and it cannot be known when the trial will be concluded. These matters, taken together with the deadlock on the appropriations, give promise of a very protracted session, notwithstanding the extreme heat of the weather and the progress of the Presidential canvass. Unless a sudden caprice shall seize upon Congress to get away and cut the gordian knot of legislative perplexity by a summary adjournment the session will be protracted even to the autumn.

CHEAP BUNCOMBE.—After the Democratic platform had been adopted some keen-sighted wire-puller discovered that not a plank had been devoted to the soldiers and sailors. This was an oversight, so the chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, Mr. Dorsheimer, got off the following bit of buncombe:

Mr. Dorsheimer—Your committee have also had referred to them and recommend the adoption of the following resolution:

Resolved, That the soldiers and sailors of the Republic, and the widows and orphans of those who have fallen in battle, have a just claim upon the protection and gratitude of their fellow-citizens.

As this resolution is rather indefinite, not mentioning on which side the soldier fell, it met with general support. If the time should ever come when the heirs of ex-Confederates should apply for pension, Democracy can point with pride at this resolution as showing its early regard for the boys in gray. It is possible that Union soldiers were referred to, but this construction would hardly agree with the Democratic practice in the House of Representatives, where wounded Union soldiers were discharged to make room for those who had served in the Confederate army. With such treatment before them it is hardly possible that this piece of buncombe will capture a single vote in the loyal States.

CROW AND LEEK.—Roasted crow and boiled leek form the staple dish at Democratic boarding-houses just now.

REVIEW OF THE MONTH.

NATIONAL.

...The subject first in chronological order, as well probably as first in importance in the current review, is the Democratic National Convention which assembled at St. Louis June 27, 1876. Only a moderate degree of interest in the action of this convention had been awakened throughout the country, and its session seemed to be more a matter of party custom, in which the forms of a Presidential nomination were observed, than an earnest choice of a ticket which stood a real chance of being elected. The nomination of Hayes and Wheeler at Cincinnati had completely handicapped the Democracy, and every feature of their convention betrayed their own lack of confidence and hope in the result of the November election.

The convention was permanently organized by electing General John A. McClelland, of Illinois, president.

The platform adopted urges immediate reform in national and local government; reaffirms the faith of Democracy in the permanence of the Federal Union; demands the supremacy of the civil over the military; separation of Church and State; opposes sumptuary laws and denounces corruption in the National and in Southern State Governments; demands the repeal of the resumption clause of the currency act of 1875, and seeks specie payment through a thorough system of government economies.

"Reform" is made the burden of the platform, and is to be the battle-cry of the Democratic campaign. A more glaring attempt to swindle the American people has never been attempted. The history of Democratic administrations attests that Democracy is incapable of reform of any kind whatever. Reform is contrary to every principle of its existence and practices. During the forty years before the war, when it held absolute sway in governmental affairs, and when incapacity, corruption, and robbery were its chief characteristics, a condition that was as the midnight of evil compared with the light of the present day, no measures of reform were ever thought of or

adopted. Public thieves of all grades were secure from publicity and punishment; and the bigger the thief the more certain his security and protection. The country was compelled to await the inauguration of the Republican party to attain an ascendancy of political forces that were self-governing, self-purifying, and self-protecting. The very principles of Republicanism have ever been a guarantee of wise, just, and upright government. If rascals have obtained positions by a betrayal of its confidence, the Republican party has been most vigilant in detecting them, most vigorous in punishing them. If unwise measures have been adopted, it has at all times been equal to a just estimate of their value, and ready to make any modification or change that the true interests of the people demand. In truth, the Republican party was born of the spirit of honest reform, and has ever been the guardian of this great trust since the first day of its ascendancy in the Government.

The convention nominated Samuel J. Tilden, Governor of New York, for President; and Thomas A. Hendricks, Governor of Indiana, for Vice President, and then adjourned.

INDIAN OUTRAGES.

...To the record of the month is to be added the ineffable sadness of an unparalleled Indian massacre. On the 25th of June General G. A. Custer, with companies C, E, F, I, and L, of the Seventh United States Cavalry, under his immediate command, and companies A, G, and M, under General Reno, made an attack upon 2,500 Sioux warriors, commanded by Sitting Bull, in camp on the Little Big Horn river, Montana Territory. It appears that the Indians were thoroughly prepared for the engagement, and when the fire was opened rushed to the front with such resistless force and ferocity that the troops were utterly powerless to resist. General Custer and every officer and man of his command were quickly cut down, and not a single one was allowed to live to tell the awful story of the disaster. General Reno also suffered heavily, losing half his men in killed and wounded, but was enabled to hold

his position until relieved by the approach of General Terry with a force of infantry and cavalry. The total loss in this desperate and unequal engagement was as follows :

Commissioned officers killed.....	14
Enlisted men killed.....	237
Civilians killed	5
Indian scouts	3
—	
Total	259

Custer was a young and dashing officer, who had done the country valuable service during the late civil war, but in this instance, it appears, took entirely too great risk, and fell a victim of his daring courage.

CONGRESS.

...Comparatively little progress has been made by Congress since our last review. Although a session of seven months has already elapsed, and the fiscal year closed June 30th, the Government was left without a cent of money for its conduct during the current year. The general appropriation bills had been held back by the House until an unusually late date, when they were rushed through with provisions that would wreck the Government if permitted to be enforced. These bills have been in conference committees of the two houses for several weeks past, and are difficult of adjustment, owing to the persistence of the Democracy to cripple the public service by inadequate and ruinous appropriations ; and this is called economy and reform ! The surplus appropriations for the past year have been twice extended for a period of ten days to avoid a complete "dead lock" in Government business, and to give the conference committees time to agree.

...The Senate has passed a resolution to appoint a committee of three Senators to investigate the Chinese question and report at the next session.

HAYES' ACCEPTANCE.

...On the 10th of July Gov. R. B. Hayes formally accepted the Republican nomination for President. The letter is a discreet and statesmanlike document. The Governor takes decided ground in favor of civil service, and denounces the dogma that to the "victors belong the spoils." He would make capability, integrity, and worth, and not party fealty alone, the test of preferment.

He is decided in favor of specie payment ; counsels peace and observance of law in the South, and intimates that this must be had at any cost ; declares that he would not if elected consent to be a candidate for a second term ; and pledges a frugal, impartial, and honest administration of the Government. In conclusion he says :

"With a civil service organized upon a system which will secure purity, experience, efficiency, and economy, and a strict regard for the public welfare solely in appointments, and the speedy, thorough, and unsparing prosecution and punishment of all public officers who betray official trusts, with a sound currency, with education unsectarian and free to all, with simplicity and frugality in public and private affairs, and with a fraternal spirit of harmony pervading the people of all sections and classes, we may reasonably hope that the second century of our existence as a nation will, by the blessing of God, be pre-eminently an era of good feeling and a period of progress, prosperity, and happiness.

"Very respectfully, your fellow citizen,
" R. B. HAYES."

REPUBLICAN STATE CONVENTIONS.

...The Republicans of Louisiana assembled in State Convention in New Orleans on the 2d of July, and remained in session seven days. A heated contest existed between two wings of the party, each struggling for the ascendancy to control the nominations and the organization of the party thereafter. On the sixth day a nomination for Governor was reached, and on the second ballot Hon. S. B. Packard was chosen. Ex-Governor Henry C. Warmoth was his principal contestant.

The entire nominations are as follows : Lieutenant Governor, C. C. Antoine. Secretary of State, E. Honore. Superintendent of Public Education, Wm. G. Brown. Auditor of Public Accounts, George B. Johnson. Attorney General, Wm. H. Hunt.

...The State Republican Convention of North Carolina was held at Raleigh on July 12th, and on the first ballot Hon. Thomas Settle, a judge of the Supreme Court of the State, was nominated for Governor, receiving 176 votes to 65 for Hon. O. H. Dockery. Hon. W. A. Smith was nominated for Lieut. Governor, J. W. Albertson for Secretary of State, John Reily for State Auditor, W. H. Wheeler for Treasurer, Tazewell Hargraves

for Attorney General, and Rev. J. C. Carson for Superintendent of Public Instruction. Judge Settle made a speech accepting the nomination, and immediately resigned his seat on the bench to enter the canvass.

SOUTHERN OUTRAGES.

...A terrible slaughter of colored people by white ruffians occurred at Hamburg, S.C., on the 6th of July. It appears that on the Fourth a company of colored State militia were parading the streets of Hamburg, and were halted, when two white Democrats approached in a buggy and demanded that the ranks be broken to allow them to pass. This was not promptly done, and the whites grew furious at the delay and threatened revenge. The next day complaint was made before a justice of the peace, and on the following day a trial of the militia officers was to be had on the charge of obstructing the public highway. The town of Hamburg was filled with armed ruffians, who had assembled in fact to take the arms from the militia, peaceably if they could, but forcibly if they must. The colored men, seeing the danger, gathered in their armory and prepared to defend themselves and their rights by fighting if necessary. This aggravated the whites still more, and immediately they determined to assault the building, and opened fire with long-range rifles. A piece of artillery was brought from Augusta, Ga., and placed in

position, and several rounds of cannister fired into the building. At this assault the colored militia returned the fire, killing one white man and wounding another. At last the building was stormed, and the poor colored men within tried to make their escape by running away. A number were shot down while fleeing for their lives, and others were taken prisoners and then brutally murdered. The scene is said to have been indescribably horrible. On the night of the 6th an attack was made on the town of Hamburg, a colored village of about one thousand inhabitants, with only two or three white families, and the place literally sacked and destroyed. Men, women, and children were driven out of town in the midst of promiscuous firing; houses were entered and robbed, the furniture destroyed, and scarcely one of the inhabitants allowed to remain in their homes. The next morning the beautiful village was covered with desolation, and the poor residents scattered in the forests and country for refuge. The number of killed and wounded cannot be definitely ascertained, but together exceeds a hundred. A terrible state of affairs is said to exist in that vicinity on this account, and the State authorities seem to be unable to protect the people from the malignant incursions of the white line rebel Democracy, who delight in this auspicious opening of the campaign in the Palmetto State.

EXECUTIVE AND DEPARTMENT DOINGS.

EXECUTIVE.

NO WHISKY SECRETS.

The following letter will produce a healthy effect throughout the country. It will fall like a bombshell among those who believe that the President had a few secrets on the whisky business that he preferred to keep within the doors of the Cabinet. Grant is as honest as he is modest. He would not rob anyone of justly-earned laurels; but we are inclined to believe that when the story of the whisky frauds and their prosecutions is fully known the President will loom up as the man who planned the assault on the Whisky Ring and led the Government forces to crush it. The following explains itself:

EXECUTIVE MANSION,

WASHINGTON, July 12, 1876.

Hon. B. H. Bristow:

DEAR SIR: Through the press I learn that the committee of Congress investigating whisky frauds have summoned you as witness, and that you, with great propriety as I think, have declined to testify, claiming that what occurs in Cabinet, or between a member of the Cabinet and the Executive officially, is privileged, and that a committee of Congress have no right to demand answer. I appreciate the position you have assumed on this question, but beg to relieve you from all obligation of secrecy on this subject, and desire, not only that you may answer all questions asked relating to it, but wish that all members of my Cabinet, and ex-members of my Cabinet since I have been President,

may also be called upon to testify in regard to the same matter.

With great respect, your obedient servant,
U. S. GRANT.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT.
CIRCULAR TO COLLECTORS OF CUSTOMS.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., June 16, 1876.

The Department has recently had under consideration the question as to what descriptions of fish are the products of the inland lakes lying between the United States and Canada, and of the rivers flowing into them, as distinguished from fish which are the products of the sea fisheries of Canada, with the view of establishing some practical guide by which collectors of customs may determine, under certain circumstances, from the character of the fish themselves, without regard to other proofs, whether they are or are not entitled to free entry under the treaty of Washington.

The following extract from a communication addressed to the Department by Professor Spencer F. Baird, United States Commissioner of Fish and Fisheries, under date of the 10th instant, embodies the desired information:

"So far as relates to the fishes of the inland lakes and of the rivers running into them, likely to be imported into the United States, there is but little difficulty—these consisting of brook trout, the salmon trout, the land-locked salmon, the white-fish, the lake herring, (a species of white-fish,) the muscalunge or large pike, the sturgeon, and the black bass; although the brook trout, the muscalunge, the sturgeon, and the black bass are frequently found elsewhere than within the limits mentioned.

"Possibly the simplest rule to apply would be that of excluding from free entry all fish from points west of Montreal, unless they can be shown to have been captured in the St. Lawrence river, east of Lake Ontario.

"Fish shipped from points east of Montreal and on the Atlantic seaboard would, in reasonable probability, be entitled to free entry, unless they embrace salmon-trout, white fish, lake herring, or cisco, which are exclusively found in lakes or their inlets; and therefore, unless under very exceptional circumstances, would be necessarily dutiable.

"I am unaware whether the provisions of the treaty embrace fresh fish as well as those that are prepared for temporary preservation. If fresh fish come in free, then the subject is very much simplified, as, so far as my knowledge extends, it is only the white-fish and the lake trout that are ever offered in a salted condition, the other species command-

ing a much higher price as fresh fish. The fish which are strictly maritime, about which there would never be any question, are the mackerel, cod, haddock, hake, pollock, cusk, whiting, and ling, as also the sea-trout from Newfoundland and Labrador."

These views are not absolutely mandatory upon collectors of customs, but are published for their information, with the expectation that they will be applied as far as practicable.

B. H. BRISTOW,
Secretary.

EXECUTION OF BONDS BY FIRM.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., June 26, 1876.

To Collectors of Customs and others.

The following act of Congress, "relating to the execution of custom-house bonds," approved June 20, 1876, is published for the information and guidance of officers of the customs, and all other persons concerned:

"Be it enacted, &c. That when any bond is required by law to be executed by any firm or partnership for the payment of duties upon goods, wares, or merchandise imported into the United States by such firm or partnership, the execution of such bond by any member of such firm or partnership, in the name of said firm or partnership, shall bind the other members or partners thereof in like manner and to the same extent as if such other members or partners had personally executed the same. And any action or suit may be instituted on such bond against all the members or partners of such firm as if all of the members or partners had executed the same."

This statute is similar in its provisions to the 25th section of the act of March 1, 1823, under which, in article 787 of the Regulations of 1874, this Department instructed collectors of customs that a merchant belonging to a firm, entering as principal into a bond for duties, in the name of the firm, thereby binds his partner or partners in the trade.

The provision contained in the section cited having been omitted from the Revised Statutes, and other portions of the act having been reproduced therein, the Department in its letter to the collector of customs at Baltimore, dated May 22, 1875, (Printed Decisions 2261,) directed the discontinuance of the practice then authorized by the Regulations, and required that bonds should be signed by all resident partners.

Those instructions will no longer be regarded, and the practice formerly authorized as aforesaid will be revived and hereafter continued as provided for in the act quoted above, and in the Regulations cited.

CHAS. F. CONANT,
Acting Secretary.

REDEMPTION AND EXCHANGE OF INTERNAL-REVENUE DOCUMENTARY AND PROPRIETARY STAMPS.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF COMMISSIONER OF
INTERNAL REVENUE,
WASHINGTON, D. C., July 12, 1876.

The act approved July 12, entitled "An act relative to the redemption of unused stamps," provides "that the fourteenth section of the act passed February eighth, eighteen hundred and seventy five, entitled 'An act to amend existing customs and internal-revenue laws, and for other purposes,' be, and the same is hereby, repealed; and all unused stamps shall be redeemed when properly presented, as was done prior to the passage of the aforesaid act: *Provided*, That from and after the passage of this act no allowance shall be made for documentary stamps, except those of the denomination of two cents, which, when presented to the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, are not found to be in the same condition as when issued by the Internal Revenue Department, or, if so required by the said Commissioner, when the person presenting the same cannot satisfactorily trace the history thereof from their issue to their presentation as aforesaid."

In accordance with the above provision of law, the public is hereby notified that the redemption of documentary stamps will be resumed, subject to all the limitations imposed by the act.

Stamps which are in the same condition as when issued by this Department may be forwarded to this office for redemption or exchange. If for redemption, they must in every case be accompanied by a claim, made out upon the form prescribed for that purpose, which will be furnished upon application.

If the evidence is satisfactory, the amount or value, after deducting the sum of five per cent., as required by section 3425, Revised Statutes of the United States, will be refunded.

Stamps which the owner desires exchanged need not be accompanied by a claim, but a letter stating such desire should invariably accompany the stamps.

The stamps will be transmitted at the risk and expense of the owner.

It should be distinctly understood that the limitations imposed by the act above quoted will, under no circumstances, be departed from, and it will be useless to forward stamps which have been canceled, or which are not, in every respect, in the same condition as when issued by this office. The abrasion of the gum upon the backs of stamps will be deemed such a change from the original condition as to necessitate their rejection by

this office, as required by the terms of the act.

In all cases where stamps of larger denominations than twenty dollars are presented, their history from their issue by the Government to their presentation should be traced by means of sworn statements from each owner through whose hands they have passed.

Claims should invariably be sworn to, and the blanks therein should be carefully filled out, so far as the affiant is able to do so, but the date of purchase and name of person from whom purchased will not be insisted upon.

Claims will be acted upon by this office in the order in which they are received, and in all cases as early after their receipt as the condition of the public business will permit.

H. C. ROGERS,
Acting Commissioner.

THE PUBLIC DEBT STATEMENT.

The following is a recapitulation of the public debt statement, issued July 1:

DEBT BEARING INTEREST IN COIN.	
Bonds at 6 per cent.	\$84,099,650 00
Bonds at 5 per cent.	71,635,800 00
 Total principal.....	1,625,635,450 00
Total interest.....	34,068,587 39

DEBT BEARING INTEREST IN LAWFUL MONEY.

Navy pension fund at three per cent.....	14,000,000 00
Interest.....	210,000 00

DEBT ON WHICH INTEREST HAS CEASED SINCE MATURITY.

Principal.....	3,902,402 26
Interest.....	2,4972 31

DEBT BEARING NO INTEREST.

Old demand and legal-tender notes.....	369,839,201 50
Certificates of deposit.....	3,840,000 00
Fractional currency.....	34,446,595 .9
Coin certificates.....	28,681,400 00

Total principal.....	465,807,196 89
Total unclaimed interest.....	20,444 84

TOTAL DEBT.	
Principal.....	2,180,395,067 15
Interest.....	38,514,004 54

Total.....	2,218,909,071 69
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CASH IN THE TREASURY.

Coin.....	73,625,584 97
Currency.....	13,664,141 73
Special deposit held for redemption of certificates of deposit as provided by law.....	32,840,000 00

Total.....	\$119,469,726 70
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Debt, less cash in the Treasury June 1, 1876.....	2,099,439,349 99
July 1, 1875.....	2,103,320,742 55

Decrease of debt during the month.....	3,881,397 56
Decrease of debt since June 30, 1875.....	\$2,249,381 33

STATEMENT showing the Receipts and Disbursements of the Government from January 1, 1854, to June 30, 1855; exhibiting also the amount of defalcations and the ratio of losses per \$1,000 to the aggregate paid and disbursed, arranged in periods, as nearly as practicable, of four years each, and also in the periods prior and subsequent to June 30, 1851; prepared under the direction of the Secretary, to accompany his answer to a resolution of the United States Senate, dated February 9, 1856; calling for a detailed statement of balances due from public officers no longer in the public service, which have arisen since 1850:

RECEIPTS, LOSSES, AND RATIO OF RECEIPTS.

PERIOD.	CUSTOMS.			INTERNAL REVENUE.			MISCELLANEOUS.			
	Receipts.	Losses.	Loss on \$1,000.	Receipts.	Losses.	Loss on \$1,000.	Receipts.	Losses.	Loss on \$1,000.	
January 1, 1854, to December 31, 1857.	\$70,85,088 66	\$1,21,566 25	\$17 26	\$20,519 41	.....	.....	\$2,706,933 70	.....	.....
January 1, 1852, to June 30, 1854.	15,283,141 68	294,502 94	3 95	9,942 10	.....	.....	25,821,178 67	.....	.....
July 1, 1845, to June 30, 1851.	75,146,435 31	29,369 03	3 25	5,892 25	.....	.....	8,515,683 41	.....	.....
January 1, 1848, to June 30, 1853.	10,165,342 31	7,719 11	0 66	3,617 26	.....	.....	12,019,15 04	.....	.....
July 1, 1852, to June 30, 1857.	19,515,116 88	215,749 08	1 10	.....	.....	.....	12,624,329 01	.....	.....
July 1, 1853, to June 30, 1858.	24,514,275 03	181,277 05	1 63	.....	.....	.....	37,894,174 86	.....	.....
July 1, 1854, to June 30, 1861.	18,125,082 85	38,767 03	21 21	.....	.....	.....	12,889,530 35	.....	.....
July 1, 1856, to June 30, 1863.	30,500,153 61	31,261 90	10 10	356,86,137 30	.....	.....	4,423,258 60	1 18	67,21,745 08
July 1, 1858, to June 30, 1869.	69,977,488 65	29,485 93	36 36	9,456,698 12	.....	.....	2,126,602 16	2 29	91,713,034 44
July 1, 1860, to June 30, 1873.	80,525,891 96	20,385 15	62 62	572,393,401 98	.....	.....	856,295 67	1 44	79,623,067 73
July 1, 1873, to June 30, 1875.	320,271,566 04	3,407 28	0 01	212,417,278 48	.....	.....	283,195 63	1 33	51,273,067 73
Total.	3,082,688,083 98	2,434,632 46	78	2,068,371,242 46	.....	.....	3,650,352 06	1 77	402,573,453 51
January 1, 1854, to June 30, 1861.	\$2,124,529 49	\$2 23	2,056,331,218 88	.....	.....	.....	\$3,659,352 06	.....	\$172,650,707 70
July 1, 1851, to June 30, 1853.	\$1,051,211,003 72	310,102 97	14	.....	.....	.....	289,892,683 81	.....	.....
Total.	\$1,102,533,005 72	310,102 97	14	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
RECEIPTS, LOSSES, AND RATIO OF LOSS PER \$1,000 TO AGGREGATE OF RECEIPTS—CONTINUED.										
PERIOD.	MISCELLANEOUS— Continued.			NET TOTAL.			GROSS TOTAL.			
	Losses.	Loss on \$1,000.	Receipts.	Losses.	Loss on \$1,000.	Receipts.	Receipts.*	Losses.	Loss on \$1,000.	
January 1, 1854, to December 31, 1857.	\$17,259 16	\$2 74	\$133,029,971 77	\$1,383,825 41	\$10 40	\$125,995,930 92	\$1,383,825 41	.....	.....
January 1, 1852, to December 31, 1854.	17,825 05	4 4	94,125,586 95	392,328 34	4 16	129,918,568 91	392,328 34	.....	.....
January 1, 1853, to June 30, 1854.	17,032 35	20 48	87,468,012 69	420,931 39	4 91	116,736,004 87	420,931 39	.....	.....
July 1, 1848, to June 30, 1849.	10,290 68	86	122,587,147 61	18,109 98	1 14	201,857,508 45	18,109 98	3 68	.....
July 1, 1849, to June 30, 1853.	60,521 50	4 79	207,581,755 49	27,270 58	1 33	211,908,612 91	27,270 58	1 30	.....
July 1, 1852, to June 30, 1857.	81,734 73	2 30	288,172,977 89	213,001 78	75	282,179,839 56	213,001 78	1 75	.....
July 1, 1854, to June 30, 1861.	155,257 80	12 69	196,933,733 20	194,006 83	98	312,359,679 59	194,006 83	1 98	.....
July 1, 1856, to June 30, 1863.	53,943 01	80	729,458,285 99	508,463 60	60	4,670,460,137 61	508,463 60	62	.....
July 1, 1858, to June 30, 1873.	181,621 19	1 97	1,716,418,954 21	2,512 99	1 49	4,012,316,438 46	2,512 99	62	.....
July 1, 1873, to June 30, 1875.	107,487 86	1 35	1,457,292,822 50	295,168 68	65	2,576,316,555 82	295,168 68	62	.....
Total.	35,581 01	69	5,823,961,882 25	323,183 92	55	1,420,322,808 62	323,183 92	37	.....
January 1, 1854, to June 30, 1861.	\$2,124,529 49	\$4 33	\$1,011,633,789 95	7,255,619 41	1 29	\$14,100,631,205 00	7,255,619 41	51	.....
July 1, 1851, to June 30, 1853.	\$782,961 82	1 30	\$1,125,931,705 01	\$2,907,521 31	\$4 38	\$1,349,098,115 18	\$2,907,521 31	\$4 38	.....
Total.	\$782,961 82	1 30	4,487,101,934 95	4,318,988 10	1 36	12,603,631,059 91	4,318,988 10	1 36

* Includes receipts for loans.

EXECUTIVE AND DEPARTMENT DOINGS.

DISBURSEMENTS, LOSSES, AND RATIO OF LOSS PER \$1,000 TO AGGREGATE DISBURSEMENTS.

PERIOD.	INDIANS.						PENSIONS.						
	Disburse- ments.	Losses. \$1,000	Loss on Disburse- ments.	Losses. \$1,000	Loss on Disburse- ments.	Losses. \$1,000	Disburse- ments.	Losses. \$1,000	Loss on Disburse- ments.	Losses. \$1,000	Loss on Disburse- ments.	Losses. \$1,000	
Jan. 1, '34, to Dec. 31, '37.	\$65,585,422	32	\$92,062,83	\$13,60	\$20,275,822,24	\$213,405,94	\$10,53	\$1,005,435	75	\$1,320,351	56	\$4,410,70	75
Jan. 1, '38, to June 30, '41.	37,711,697	43	20,425,845	64	101,555	25	101,555	25	12,870	40	10,246,804	64	
Jan. 1, '42, to June 30, '45.	24,483,554	51	45,359	58	2,35	24,930,331	48	54,391	63	2,17	4,573,354	42	
July 1, '45, to June 30, '48.	88,500,820	38	74,715	62	8,44	33,550	83	115,665	68	3,45	141,493	87	
July 1, '48, to June 30, '53.	37,315,034	37	37,315,034	65	36,771,937	67	141,493	87	8,35	1,417,463	68		
July 1, '53, to June 30, '57.	62,407,668	32	37,833	37	6,05	52,407,668	32	1,417,463	68	1,207	1,207		
July 1, '57, to June 30, '61.	88,307,575	55	287,516	48	3,35	53,645	348	183,510	52	3,49	9,621,417	65	
July 1, '61, to June 30, '65.	2,713,890	55	1,56	311,229,986	31	6,073,139	44	3,433	13,013,317	62	4,577,392	66	
July 1, '65, to June 30, '69.	563,749,510	99	542,547	69	62	120,173,826	60	98,542,547	62	10,377	23,263,780	67	
July 1, '69, to June 30, '73.	175,329,922	72	168,309	33	97	82,430,212	66	180,961	68	2,10	88,181,802	62	
July 1, '73, to June 30, '75.	83,434,573	28	21,742	80	28	50,670	77	50	15,077,118	91	120,476,926	67	
Total.....	3,930,596,021	63	7,241,658	96	1,91	816,252	950	88,272,827	77	3,15	14,927,954	99	
Jan. 1, '34, to June 30, '36.	374,661,551	28	2,343,570	53	6,70	242,427,501	21	1,197,130	80	4,87	71,697,995	66	
July 1, '61, to June 30, '75.	3,555,960,469	72	4,576,050	43	1,39	512,518,449	66	1,385,099	91	2,41	1,046,890	80	

DISBURSEMENTS, LOSSES, AND RATIO OF LOSS PER \$1,000 TO AGGREGATE DISBURSEMENTS-CONTINUED.

PERIOD.	Post Office.						Post Office, EXCLUSIVE OF Post Office.						Gross Total, EXCLUSIVE OF Post Office.						
	Disburse- ments.	Losses. \$1,000	Loss on Disburse- ments.	Losses. \$1,000	Loss on Disburse- ments.	Losses. \$1,000	Disburse- ments.	Losses. \$1,000	Loss on Disburse- ments.	Losses. \$1,000	Disburse- ments.	Losses. \$1,000	Loss on Disburse- ments.	Losses. \$1,000	Disburse- ments.	Losses. \$1,000	Loss on Disburse- ments.		
Jan. 1, '34, to Dec. 31, '37.	\$23,921,077	47	\$6,001,154	65	\$1,637,884	18	\$13,686	51	\$1,016,651	75	\$1	1,163,786	61	\$10,308	325	\$1,118	\$10,55		
Jan. 1, '38, to Dec. 31, '41.	25,372,436	26	\$2,485,556	47	97,93	53	18,684	81	5,082,452	82	2,856	10,633	438	137,681	64	21,15	21,15		
Jan. 1, '42, to June 30, '45.	21,000	21	2,485,556	47	45,82	25	1,000	45	1,000	45	1,163,322	81	1,163,322	81	1,163,322	81	1,163,322	81	
July 1, '45, to June 30, '49.	21,132,077	22	5,761,392	44	23,88	14	16,381,926	44	1,163,381	92	1,163,381	92	1,163,381	92	1,163,381	92	1,163,381	92	
July 1, '49, to June 30, '53.	80,078,785	74	15,583	74	15,038	20	15,038	20	1,163,192	68	8,36	194,370	432	1,14	1,455,182	68	7,64	7,64	
July 1, '53, to June 30, '57.	52,946	20	1,99	52,946	20	1,99	52,946	20	1,163,192	68	1,163,192	68	1,163,192	68	1,163,192	68	1,163,192	68	
July 1, '57, to June 30, '61.	40,655	25	7,75	40,655	25	7,75	40,655	25	280,128	65	6,92	50,697	397	4,81	6,94	285,038	875	6,94	5,86
July 1, '61, to June 30, '65.	101,502,826	81	83,731	61	8,422	50	50,555	74	1,163,192	68	2,392	1,359	73	2,392	1,359	52	6,596	622	52
July 1, '65, to June 30, '69.	111,122,075	75	11,035	75	13,05	74	58,078	64	1,163,192	68	1,163,192	68	1,163,192	68	1,163,192	68	1,163,192	68	
July 1, '69, to June 30, '73.	115,145,844	93	1,061,250	52	9,15	48,731	65	53,447	67	1,163,192	68	1,163,192	68	1,163,192	68	1,163,192	68	1,163,192	68
July 1, '73, to June 30, '75.	201,403,036	61	1,061,053	64	1,061,053	64	107,226	61	1,013,735	47	6,06	1,046,621	117	1,163,192	68	1,163,192	68	1,163,192	68
Total.....	1,105,883,725	67	10,100,467	56	9,13	489,153	84	988,522	38	2,62	6,340,937	422	52	22,261,926	28	1,51	13,361,950	72	1,51
Jan. 1, '34, to June 30, '36.	244,487,963	27	7,150,829	99	18,61	189,490	74	576,169	78	3,04	1,125,434	366	64	12,361,729	91	1,59	12,361,729	91	1,59
July 1, '61, to June 30, '75.	21,316,423	40	2,499,440	57	4,08	41,742,604	1,76	1,38	1,163,192	68	1,163,192	68	1,163,192	68	1,163,192	68	1,163,192	68	

* Includes expenses for public debts.

** Includes expenses for public debts.

† Includes expenses for public debts.

‡ Includes expenses for public debts.

§ Includes expenses for public debts.

|| Includes expenses for public debts.

||| Includes expenses for public debts.</

REGULATIONS EXEMPTING DISTILLERS OF BRANDY FROM APPLES, PEACHES, OR GRAPES EXCLUSIVELY, FROM A PORTION OF THE PROVISIONS OF SECTION 3264 OF THE REVISED STATUTES.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF INTERNAL REVENUE,
WASHINGTON, D. C., *July 8, 1876.*

By virtue of the authority vested in me by section 3255 of the Revised Statutes of the United States I do hereby, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, exempt distillers of brandy made exclusively from apples, peaches, or grapes, from so much of the provisions of section 3264 of the Revised Statutes of the United States as requires that the assistant to be designated to assist the collector in the making of surveys of distilleries shall be specially designated in each instance for the purpose of making each survey.

Hereafter surveys of distilleries of apples, peaches, or grapes exclusively, may be made by the collector, with the aid of an assistant designated generally for the purpose of making any and all surveys of such distilleries.

Surveys of grain and molasses distilleries will continue to be made as heretofore, with the aid of a specially-designated assistant.

Collectors of districts in which the distillation of fruit prevails are requested to forward immediately to this office the names of a sufficient number of suitable persons for designation as assistants under the terms of this circular.

In all instances, when practicable, deputy collectors should be nominated for this purpose.

D. D. PRATT,
Commissioner.

Approved—

Lor M. MORRILL,
Secretary of the Treasury.

LOCKS FOR WAREHOUSES.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., *June 24, 1876.*

To Collectors of Customs:

The Department is informed that, as a general rule, customs bonded warehouses having more than one entrance are secured by the use of Government locks for each entrance, the number of locks thus required ranging from two to thirty or upwards.

This practice will be discontinued forthwith, and for the sake of economy in the use of locks, and the better security of merchandise in warehouses, collectors are hereby instructed to cause secure inside fastenings to be placed on all the entrances *except one*, or at most *two*, in each of the warehouses in their several districts, thereby rendering unnecessary the use, in any case, of more than two locks for each warehouse, and to report the number of locks thereby becoming unnecessary, (which locks they will retain subject to the further order of the Department,) and also the number of locks

necessary for use in their respective districts under the foregoing instructions, designating in such report each warehouse and the number required therefor.

The use of the locks now on hand will, subject to the foregoing restrictions, be continued until further orders; provided, however, that when the same are in the collector's opinion defective or unsafe, immediate report of that fact shall be made to the Department.

CHAS. F. CONANT,
Acting Secretary.

IMPORTS AND EXPORTS FOR THE FISCAL YEAR
ENDED JUNE 30, 1876.

The chief of the Bureau of Statistics furnishes the following statement of our imports and exports for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1876. (The returns for June not being all in the figures for that month are partly estimated.)

Domestic exports of merchandise, (specie value)	\$522,000,000
Foreign exports of merchandise, (specie value)	14,000,000
Total	536,000,000
Imports of merchandise	460,000,000

Excess of exports over imports.... 76,000,000

In the previous year the imports of merchandise exceeded the exports by over \$19,000,000—a favorable showing in 1876, as compared with 1875, of about \$95,000,000. Our exports of specie and bullion in 1876 exceeded the imports by \$53,000,000.

TRIPPLICATE INVOICES.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., *June 29, 1876.*

To Collectors of Customs and Naval Officers:

Naval officers will hereafter compare each triplicate invoice, transmitted by a consular officer in accordance with the provisions of sections 2855 and 2857 of the Revised Statutes, with the original invoice presented by the importer on entry.

Collectors of customs will furnish naval officers with triplicate invoices immediately on their receipt, to be returned without unnecessary delay by the naval officer for file in the collector's office, according to the usual practice, after the completion of the comparison above prescribed.

CHAS. F. CONANT,
Acting Secretary.

GENERAL POST OFFICE.

POSTAGE RATES TO BRITISH INDIA AND THE
FRENCH COLONIES.

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF FOREIGN MAILS,

WASHINGTON, D. C., *June 21, 1876.*

On and after July 1, 1876, British India (comprising Hindostan, British Burmah, and Aden) and the French colonies in America, Africa, Asia, and Oceanica, become a part of

the general postal union formed by the treaty of Berne, subject to all the provisions of said treaty, and to an additional postage charge to cover the expenses of sea transportation beyond the limits of the general postal union as originally formed by the Berne treaty.

The rates of postage to be levied and collected in the United States on and after the 1st of July, 1876, on the prepaid correspondence sent to, and on the unpaid correspondence received from British India and the French colonies are as follows: For prepaid letters, 10 cents per 15 grammes, ($\frac{1}{2}$ ounce.) For unpaid letters received, 20 cents per 15 grammes, ($\frac{1}{2}$ ounce.) For postal cards 4 cents each. For newspapers, if not over four ounces in weight, 4 cents each. For books, other printed matter, patterns of merchandise, local and commercial documents, pamphlets, music, visiting cards, photographs, catalogues, prospectuses, announcements, and notices of various kinds, whether printed, engraved, or lithographed, 4 cents per each weight of two ounces or fraction of two ounces. For the registration fee on all correspondence, 10 cents.

All provisions and restrictions of the general postal union treaty, concluded at Berne October 9, 1874, apply as well to the correspondence exchanged with British India and the French colonies as to the correspondence exchanged with the original postal union countries. British India comprises Hindostan, British Burmah, and Aden. The French colonies are as follows: America—Martinique, Guadaloupe and dependencies, French Guiana, St. Pierre, and Miquelon. Africa—Senegal and dependencies, Gaboon, Reunion, Mayotte and dependencies, Ste. Marie de Madagascar. Asia—French establishments in India (Pondicherry, Chandernagor, Karaikal Mahe and Yanaon) and in Cochin China. Oceanica—New Caledonia and dependencies, Marquesas Islands, Tahiti, and the Archipelago subject to the protectorate of France.

Correspondence for British India should be forwarded to the exchange offices of New York, Boston, Philadelphia, or Chicago.

Correspondence for the French colonies should be forwarded to the exchange offices of New York or Boston.

By order of the Postmaster General:

JOSEPH H. BLACKFAN,
Superintendent of Foreign Mails.

INTERIOR DEPARTMENT.

THE INDIAN TRUST FUND.

The discovery of frauds and deficiencies in the Indian trust fund appears to have been left for the argus eye of Mr. Chandler to unearth, with clear wisdom and thorough research, frauds as plain as the light of day. An act of the present session of Congress di-

rects the transfer of the Indian trust funds, heretofore held by the Secretary of the Interior, to the custody of the Secretary of the Treasury. Before complying with this request Secretary Chandler caused an inventory to be made of the various stocks, bonds, and other securities constituting the funds. It was then found that in addition to the \$870,000 alleged to have been taken while Jacob Thompson was Secretary of the Interior under President Buchanan's administration, \$1,506,466.66 was invested by Secretaries of the Interior under Democratic Administrations prior to 1861 in bonds of the Southern States, bearing from five to six per cent. interest. The bonds were almost, if not entirely valueless, while the transaction itself was wholly illegal, as the law, which was enacted in 1841, says: "All funds held in trust by the United States, and the annual interest accruing thereon, when not otherwise required by treaty, shall be invested in stocks of the United States bearing a rate of interest not less than five per centum per annum." This law has been in force ever since. In some cases the interest which has been accruing on these worthless bonds amounts to more than the principal itself, while in all cases the interest is very large. Congress has annually been making appropriations to meet the accruing interest on these worthless bonds, which were held in trust for the various Indian tribes. The interest on the bonds abstracted under Thompson's secretaryship amounts to \$456,946.76. Thus the Government has been defrauded up to July 1, 1876, of between four and five million dollars. The whole amount of the defalcation is \$2,376,466, and the interest actually paid by the Government upon these worthless bonds is \$200,800. Nearly a million of the investment was made by Jake Thompson, in addition to the \$870,000 previously reported as taken by him.

THE Democratic platform is not a declaration of principles, but a stump speech; not the clear enunciation of a definite policy, but a string of false and reckless assertions, garnished with all the verbose rhetoric and glittering utterances of a campaign ranter.—*Albany Journal.*

THE UTOPIAN SYSTEM.

For glittering generalities Democracy is entitled to bear off the palm. To the average Democrat the following plank in the St. Louis platform must be quite as easily understood as if it was printed in Greek. Listen to the Bourbon wire-pullers:

"We demand a judicious system of preparation by public economies, by official retrenchments and by wise finance which shall enable the nation soon to assure the whole world of its perfect ability and its perfect readiness to meet any of its promises at the call of the creditor entitled to payment. We believe such a system well devised, and above all intrusted to competent hands for execution, creating at no time an artificial scarcity of currency, and at no time alarming the public mind into a withdrawal of that vast machinery of credit by which 95 per cent. of all business transactions are performed—a system open to the public and inspiring general confidence, which would, from the day of its adoption, bring healing on its wings to all our harassed industries, set in motion the wheels of commerce, manufactures, and the mechanic arts, restore employment to labor, and renew in all its natural sources the prosperity of the people."

Stopping Indian appropriations, and thus exciting an Indian war, may be part of this "judicious system of preparation by public economies," but the people will be at loss to discover when all the expenses are paid just where the economy comes in.

It is hardly possible that the average reader will fully comprehend just what kind of a system Democracy proposes to bring about "wise finance." However, it matters little, for it depends upon its being "well devised," and even then would amount to nothing unless "intrusted to competent hands for execution." Of course the modest allusion is intended that none but Democratic hands are competent to run this carefully-concealed system that the platform hints at.

Here is a chance for the Democrats of the House of Representatives to cover up their short-comings and reinstate themselves in public favor. If they will only impart to the American people the details of this Utopian system that is "open to the public," that is "inspiring general confidence," and which would, if only adopted by the nation, "bring

healing on its wings to all our harassed industries, set in motion the wheels of commerce, manufactures, and the mechanic arts, restore employment to labor, and renew in all its natural sources the prosperity of the people."

This is a most pleasing picture; but it looks very like the one held up by Tilden to the idle men of New York in the election of 1874. He told them all that was needed to make work plenty and money easy in New York was to elect him Governor. "Out of Democracy will come the power that will remove the paralysis from labor and set in motion the wheels of industry."

The paralysis still continues. In fact, instead of growing better times have grown worse. Thousands of men are idle, and wages have sunk lower than ever. Democracy deceived the people, and now seeks to carry out the deception on a larger scale. It hopes to play the same card on the nation that won in New York.

The platform of the party is in keeping with its true character. It is all things to everybody; devoid of principle; seeking by wordy statements to hide from the people its designs. It is a sham from first to last, and, like the man who stands upon it, unworthy the support of the American people.

The Albany *Journal*, speaking of the much that is said of Mr. Tilden's success and power in accomplishing his objects, declares that the simple truth is that he is successful when he is not seriously opposed and never successful when he is.

The kid-glove Democracy, of which Tilden is the chief, have not the confidence and cannot obtain the votes of the masses. His nomination will disrupt and disorganize the Democratic party. It means defeat.—*Cincinnati Enquirer.*

The only man who refused to pay his hotel bill at St. Louis last week was W. T. Pelton, nephew of Governor Tilden. The proprietors of the Planters' House sue him for \$325.